University of Alberta

Sexual Consent to Heterosexual Casual Sex among Young Adults Living in Jasper

by

Melanie Ann Beres ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2006

Library and Archives Canada

Published Heritage Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada

Direction du Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-22989-7
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-22989-7

NOTICE:
The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:
L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s there has been an abundance of feminist scholarship addressing issues related to sexual violence. Considering that sexual violence is commonly defined as sex without consent it is perhaps surprising that very little scholarly attention focuses on the issue of consent and how it is communicated. Without developing this type of understanding, the very definition of sexual violence remains uncertain. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that violence prevention strategies have not been successful in decreasing the incidence of rape and sexual coercion. In order to better address issues of sexual violence, prevention strategies must be based on an empirical understanding of sexual negotiation generally, rather than an interest only in violent or coercive sex.

To begin to address this gap I conducted a study interrogating the negotiation of and consent to casual sex among young adults living and working in Jasper (YAJs), a small resort community in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. I approached this project using a combination of grounded theory and discourse analysis. Over the course of the summer of 2005 I conducted participant observation and 24 in-depth interviews.

My data generation and analysis extended beyond an understanding of consent to include an understanding of how partners communicate a willingness and interest in casual sex. In the results chapters I describe the context of Jasper, including how casual sex is perceived by the YAJs. I draw on the work of Hollway (1984) who articulates dominant heteronormative discourses and I

discuss the ways that willingness to have sex and consent are communicated and constructed by YAJs.

This project contributes to understandings and theory of sexual consent, including legal theory. Specific contributions include a discussion of the construction of consent as gendered (women give consent to men), as connected to the "no means no" campaign, and communicated using behaviours that demonstrate a positive interest and willingness to participate in casual sex. From this analysis I suggest future directions for rape-prevention education strategies that build on young adults' existing literacy of sexual communication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the tremendous support and kindness of many individuals. First, I would like to thank my participants for taking the time from their busy schedules to talk with me about such a personal and intimate part of their lives.

I owe the success of my fieldwork in part to HIV West Yellowhead and Community Outreach Services. Despite their own scarce resources HIV West Yellowhead opened their doors allowing me to use their resources for data collection and to keep in touch with my committee. In addition, the enthusiasm of the staff was intoxicating and helped me to remain optimistic and energetic throughout the data collection process.

I could not have asked for more from my dissertation committee. Thank you to Dr. Charlene Muehlenhard and Dr. Linda Trimble. To Dr. Sara Dorow, you went above and beyond the call of duty, thank you for your encouragement through a few "hairy" situations during my fieldwork. To my co-supervisors Dr. Lise Gotell and Dr. Amy Kaler, thank you for your never-ending support and for believing in me. I always left our meetings feeling inspired and motivated. I have a tremendous amount of respect for your work, integrity and thoughtfulness.

Many friends have contributed to the maintenance of my sanity throughout this project. To my colleagues Kristin Lozanski, Ellen Whiteman, Shane Gannon and Irene Shankar and friends Rupa Bhattacherjee-Gannon, Tim Hartley, Darren Wooff and Anne Willacy: thank you for all the scholarly debates, shoulders to lean on and evenings of laughter and martinis. Kristin and Ellen: thank you for

taking the time to read this thesis and offer your insightful questions, comments and editorial changes. Julia Dunlop, and Juliana Wiens, although you were far away you were always close at hand when I needed you. Thank you for your words of wisdom.

Thank you to my parents Marg and Matt Beres and my sister Kym Yacyshyn for always believing in me. Thank you too to my "newer" family Patrick, Jacquie and Gavin St. Louis for your support and encouragement.

Most importantly I would like to thank my partner Nigel St. Louis for his ever-steady, calm presence. You are my rock! Thank you for keeping me grounded and helping me to maintain perspective. This journey would not have been nearly as much fun without you.

This dissertation was financially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. Thank you to the members of the award committees.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION 1
Dissertation overview 6

CHAPTER ONE

Sexual violence, wanting sex, desire, and casual sex 11
Sexual violence and prevention 12
Unwanted sex 22
Sexual desire 26
Normative heterosex: Radical feminism and sexual script theory 29
Casual sex 34
Seasonal work 37
Conclusion 38

CHAPTER TWO

'Spontaneous' sexual consent: An analysis of sexual consent literature 40
Spontaneous consent. 43
Consent as agreement. 47
The Nature of Consent. 51
Moral Transformation. 55
Communicative sexuality 57
Consent attitudes and behaviours 59
Concluding thoughts and looking ahead 62

CHAPTER THREE

Methods 65
Purpose and overview of study and methodology 65
Grounded theory 65
Discourse Analysis 68
Design overview 70
Participant observation 70
Gaining entry. 72
My social location. 75
Interviews 82
Challenges of interviewing "in the field". 85
Ethical considerations 88
Data Analysis 89
Conclusion 90

CHAPTER FOUR

The local social context: Jasper **92**
The Town 93
The People 94
Social life in Jasper 96
HIV West Yellowhead 112
Conclusion 115

CHAPTER FIVE

"The Script": Variations on a theme **117**
Before going to the bar 117
At the bar 119
The transition to a more private location 125
Back in the bedroom 126
After sex 128
Conclusion 129

CHAPTER SIX

Negotiating heterosexuality **131**
The (Male) Models of Heterosexual Casual Sex in Jasper 132
"It just happens" discourse 132
Male sexual drive discourse 139
Have/hold discourse 145
Sexual Permissiveness Discourse 150
Women's sexual agency 152
Conclusion 160

CHAPTER SEVEN

Constructing consent and willingness to participate in casual sex **162**
Willingness to participate in sex 164
You just know 164
Date rape education and consent – "no means no" 173
Yes means yes 179
Constructing consent 185
No means no 186
Yes means yes 187
Ambiguities and Contradictions 189
Concluding thoughts 192

CHAPTER EIGHT

Discussion **194**
The context—Jasper 196
Discourses of heterosexual casual sex 198
Heterosex and power 201
Constructing consent 204
Gendered nature of consent 205
Consent as the absence of violence/coercion 207

Communicating "consent" 208
Concluding thoughts 216

REFERENCES **218**

APPENDIX A **232**

Map of Jasper

INTRODUCTION

On a warm sunny day in Jasper, a mountain resort town in the Canadian Rockies, I am sitting on a grassy slope interviewing a young transient worker about his experiences with casual sex, including how he and his partners communicate their willingness (and consent) to engage in sex. He sums up by saying, "it's obvious, but it's really hard to know" when someone is willing to have sex with him.

This man's comment highlights the complex and often confusing quality of consent. On the one hand, consent is a concept that is taken for granted. Many scholars use it without defining it explicitly, or questioning its use, assuming a shared understanding of the concept (see Hurd, 1996; Jones, 2002-03; Ostler, 2003; Walker, 1997). On the other hand, sexual consent plays a pivotal role in discussions and debates about sexual violence because the absence of sexual consent is most often the defining characteristic of sexual violence (sex without consent). However, despite decades of feminist research, activism and legal reform, incidents of sexual violence have not declined (Carmody, 2005; Schulhofer, 1998). While consent is critical to the understanding of sexual violence, it remains a nebulous concept. We are not privy to the details of the sexual experiences of others, and therefore we cannot learn how to communicate sexually based on others' experiences. Further, talking about sex with a prospective partner is often considered taboo.

A large body of feminist research over the last few decades has focused on sexual violence, its impact and prevalence. However, by only studying violent

and harmful sex, we are developing an incomplete picture of sexual violence. I argue that it is important that we begin to study non-violent, pleasurable and consensual sexual negotiations in order to further our understanding of sexual violence. Sexual violence is defined as different from consensual sex. Thus in order to develop a more complete understanding of sexual violence we must begin to understand the way non-violent and consensual sex is negotiated.

Consent as a concept is embedded within legal discourse and is the fulcrum for distinguishing criminal from non-criminal sex acts in Canada and some other legal jurisdictions[1]. Sexual violence prevention programs have adopted the language of consent when defining sexual violence and often encourage participants to verbally ask their sexual partners for consent. However, there is a disjunction between legal and violence prevention approaches to sexual violence and popular understandings of the ways that partners communicate and agree to have sex with one another.

My introduction to discussions about the meaning of sexual consent came while I was coordinating a sexual assault education program in the mid-1990s. At that time I defined consent using the 'I know it when I see it' definition. While finding it difficult to articulate a comprehensive definition of consent, I was confident that given a description of a sexual event I would be able to distinguish consensual from non-consensual experiences. Since ending my position as

---

[1] Many legal jurisdictions in North America and Europe use consent to define sexual violence, however it is not the only requirement used to define sexual assault or rape. For example, some American states define sexual assault (or rape) as sex that is non-consensual and forced. Some of these will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One.

coordinator of the sexual assault education program, I questioned my understanding of sexual consent, and started examining a variety of scholarly writing on the topic. Since then I have abandoned my previous confidence in my own understanding of consent and I am left with more questions than answers. What is sexual consent, and how is it defined? How are these definitions used to enhance (or cloud) understandings of sexual violence? How is consent communicated during sexual activity? More recently I added another question: is consent a useful concept for framing sexual relations and experiences generally?

This project began as a result of my personal journey as an anti-rape activist and educator, and is an attempt to begin to answer some of these questions, as well as to understand how consent is communicated and constructed. I chose to study consent to heterosexual casual sex because I wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of one particular version of sex, rather than a broad understanding of how consent is understood and communicated across a wide range of sexual relationships. I chose specifically to investigate heterosexual sex because heterosexuality continues to be the dominant form of sexual relationships and is thus most easily accessible. I am interested exclusively in casual sex because when two people who do not know one another engage in sex, they do not have established ways of communicating with one another and are not able to read their partner's unique body language. Therefore they must rely exclusively on conventional ways of communicating and negotiating casual sex.

My original plan for this work was to describe how partners come to the understanding that they both were consenting to casual sex, which behaviours they use, and how they interpret their partner's behaviours. However, the notion of consent became somewhat problematic and seemed to confine the project theoretically. Calling this "communicating consent" gave the actors too much credit. It presumed that participants were concerned about the consent of their partner or even their own consent. Consent was not something that participants consciously thought about during their interactions. Therefore I decided to broaden my approach by focusing on the negotiation of heterosexual casual sex. I take up a version of Crawford, Kippax and Waldby's (1994) notion of sexual negotiation where negotiation "refers to the interpersonal communication which takes place during a sexual encounter in order to influence what happens in that encounter in terms of the needs and desires of the two people involved" (p. 571).

In addition to constructions of sexual consent and willingness to participate in casual sex, I am interested the interrogating the ways that casual sex is constructed through dominant heteronormative discourses. I found that Hollway's (1984a) description of heterosexual discourses resonated with the descriptions of the participants and I take up her descriptions of the male sexual drive discourse, the have/hold discourse and the sexual permissiveness discourse throughout this analysis. I also argue for a fourth discourse that I call the "it just happens" discourse where casual sex is constructed as something that occurs that is beyond the control of the two people involved.

To study consent to casual sex I went to Jasper, Alberta for two months during the summer of 2005. During the summer Jasper has an influx of young people looking for seasonal employment. Reportedly there is a high rate of casual sex among this population (Burrows & Olsen, 1998). Since Jasper is a relatively small community, I was able to integrate myself with the community and understand the broader context of the casual sex taking place there. During my time in Jasper I conducted participant observation by socializing and engaging in the daily lives of many young people in Jasper and I conducted 24 interviews with young adults living in Jasper.

My initial goal was to study casual sex exclusively among the seasonal workers (SWs) in Jasper. SWs live in Jasper for varying lengths of time, from a few weeks to several of years. They work in local shops, hotels, restaurants and tourist attractions and over the winter they work for the local ski hill. When I arrived in Jasper and became acquainted with people, I realized that many young local Jasperites (LJs) would also be able to contribute to my understanding of the social context and casual sex that takes place in Jasper. Although LJs tend not to build lasting relationships with SWs some do participate in casual sex with the SWs and they have a unique perspective on the culture of the town. Throughout this project I use the term "young adults in Jasper" (YAJs) to describe both the SWs and the LJs because most of the analysis is based on an aggregate of the data and stories from both groups of people.

My discussions about casual sex with YAJs often began with comments reflecting the perspective that consent is both obvious and hard to figure out, as

the opening quote of this chapter suggests. Many people have been willing to explore this contradiction with me and have shared rich descriptions of communications that take place through breathing, closeness of partners, eye contact and other subtle behavioural cues. The depth of awareness about their partner's comfort and willingness for sex demonstrated by some people surprises me. This level of perception suggests to me that it is possible to untangle some of the subtle ways that consent is communicated and reinforces my conviction regarding the importance of this type of research.

Thus, the three research questions that guide this project are:

1. How do YAJs construct consent to heterosexual casual sex?
2. How do YAJs understand the communication of willingness to participate in heterosexual casual sex?
3. How do dominant heteronormative discourses play out in the context of heterosexual casual sex?

Dissertation overview

The first two chapters of this dissertation situate this project within relevant literature. In Chapter One I explore a variety of topics related to sexuality and women's sexual agency. Sexual consent is a concept embedded within sexual violence discourse, especially legal definitions of violence. Sexual violence prevention advocates often rely on legal understandings of consent to explain issues of sexual violence strategies. These topics are the starting point for this chapter. I explore literature on women's unwanted sexual experiences to fill out understanding of the breadth of women's sexual experiences and problematize

social discourses that sometimes make it difficult for women (and men) to refuse sex. This work leads into understanding sexual desire and how women's and men's sexual desire is understood and constructed. I move on to review representations of heteronormative sexuality including radical feminist critiques of heterosexuality, Hollway's (1984a) description of dominant discourses and sexual script theory. Finally I explore the literature on casual sex to inform the context of the current study.

Chapter Two explores constructions of consent in greater depth. I argue that current constructions are underdeveloped, relying largely on implied and often contradictory definitions. I examine the various articulations of consent throughout legal and social science literature including the construction of consent as a mental or physical act, and as morally transformative. I also consider Pineau's (1989, 1996) call for a shift to a communicative version of sexuality. I finish with a review of the current literature that explores consent attitudes and behaviours. This literature is predominantly quantitative and lacks depth and information on the context within which consent is communicated.

Chapter Three is an overview of the methods used throughout this research project. I detail how I used principles of grounded theory to design the structure of the study and how discourse analysis informed my approach to the data and the data analysis for this project. I discuss in detail issues related to my fieldwork, including participant observation, and interviews, and I situate myself within the project and discuss the challenges of conducting fieldwork.

Chapter Four describes the social and sexual lives of YAJ's. I begin with a general description of Jasper and discuss the relationship between SWs with LJs and the town. I detail some of the reasons they go to Jasper, their impressions of Jasper as having the best of small town and big city atmospheres, and their social lives with other SWs going to the bars, drinking, and potentially engaging in casual sex. I also describe some of the activities of HIV West Yellowhead and the contribution they make to the overall atmosphere for SWs in Jasper.

The next three chapters present my analysis of the ways that YAJs negotiate heterosexual casual sex and how they construct their partner's willingness and consent. Chapter Five is mostly descriptive and sets the foundation for the next two chapters: I articulate the multiple ways that YAJs described engaging in casual sex including their preparations prior to going to the bar, how they find someone who interests them, how they make the transition to a private location and engage in casual sex.

In Chapter 6 I examine how YAJs positioned themselves within heteronormative discourses articulated by Hollway (1984a) including the male sexual drive, the have/hold and the sexual permissiveness discourses. In addition to these discourses YAJs also deployed another discourse that I label the "it just happens" discourse which suggests that casual sex is mostly a serendipitous event that is precipitated by forces beyond the control of the dyad involved in casual sex. These discourses create a masculine version of casual sex, and therefore I wrap up the chapter by exploring the ways that women find

spaces of power and agency through their choice of partner, by setting limits on the sexual activity and taking up the active position and by actively pursuing casual sex.

Chapter 7 is an exploration of the ways that YAJs construct their partner's willingness to participate in casual sex and consent. Similar to the "it just happens" discourse, many YAJs begin by describing their partners' willingness as something they "just know", again something that is communicated through external forces like biology or chemistry. YAJs also deploy the "no means no" discourse when describing in greater detail their partner's willingness to have casual sex and their constructions of consent, although they are often able to articulate subtle and nuanced ways that their partners demonstrate interest in casual sex. Thus, I argue that violence education strategies should recognize and build on young adults' implicit knowledge of sexual negotiations rather than attempting to replace their currents strategies with new ones. I also argue that consent is constructed as gendered, where women *give* consent to men.

In the final chapter I summarize the major contributions of this project, including the construction of consent as gendered (women give consent to men), as embedded within a discourse of the "no means no" anti-rape education slogan and also as communicated using behaviours that demonstrate a positive interest and willingness to participate in casual sex. In addition I summarize how dominant heteronormative discourses play out in the casual sex experiences of YAJs and make suggestions for future research.

Previous research is all but void of an empirical understanding of consent based on an in-depth analysis of the subtle and nuanced ways that consent is constructed and communicated within a specific context. Thus, current scholarly understandings of consent are largely prescriptive, that is, they are based on authors' conjectures, legal argument, and feminist politics. The current study is both descriptive and analytical and is the first study to examine communication of willingness and consent in context. This research will help inform policy makers and educators about "consensual" as well as "non-consensual" sexual activities, by suggesting that programs and policy build upon the tacit knowledge of people engaging in sexual relations. It is difficult to discuss issues of consent and healthy relationships when most of the research on consent is related to violent and/or coercive sexual relations.

CHAPTER ONE

Sexual violence, wanting sex, desire, and casual sex

In this chapter, I provide the broad social and scholarly context for this study of sexual consent and heterosexual casual sex negotiations. Beginning with a brief discussion of the history of understandings of sexual violence, I point to how this history has also shaped constructions of sexual consent. I follow this (what?) with a description of some popular violence prevention strategies. I argue that anti-sexual violence programs often use legal definitions of sexual violence and sexual consent and do not reflect lay understandings of the negotiations of heterosex.

A dichotomous view of sexual relations as either violent or non-violent does not reflect the complex variety of sexual experiences. I turn to literature on unwanted sex to begin to develop an appreciation for this breadth of experience. Intertwined within discussions of unwanted sex is the concept of sexual desire, how women understand their desire and how their experiences reflect their desires or occur in the absence of desire.

Different theoretical positions ascribe varying levels of power to men and women within heterosexual relations. Radical feminist theorizing suggests that women have no power within heterosexual relationships, while sexual script theorists sometimes imply that women control sexual activity through limit-setting and gatekeeping. I argue that both these positions place power in the hands of one gender while assuming the other gender remains powerless. Issues of power and control with heterosexual sex are much more nuanced and while

casual sex is constructed through a masculine lens, women do exert power and create spaces for control. I find it useful to take up Hollway's (1984a) description of dominant heteronormative discourses in my analysis to illuminate some of the complex power relations within heterosex.

Finally, I situate this project within literature about heterosexual casual sex among young adults in resort and vacation-type settings and highlight the relevance of this unique setting for interrogating normative heterosexual negotiations of casual sex.

Sexual violence and prevention

I use sexual violence literature as a starting point for this chapter sexual consent because most consent literature is embedded within discussions of sexual violence, especially within legal discourse. These legal understandings of consent can impact popular and scholarly perceptions and definitions of consent through their use in violence prevention programs and media representations of sexual assault trials. Unfortunately, different legal jurisdictions have different definitions of sexual violence and consent. When legal definitions filter through to popular understandings of consent, there is no singular definition of what consent means or what constitutes consensual sex.

Since feminist activists politicized and publicized rape and sexual violence in the 1970s, researchers have attempted to detect the "extent" of the problem by determining the incidence of sexual violence. Early research suggested that rape was a "statistically rare event" (Deming & Eppy, 1981, p. 374) and that the average woman's risk of being raped was minimal (Shorter, 1977). Koss' work

throughout the 1980s and 1990s was instrumental in identifying that sexual violence as a problem that directly impacts many more women (Gavey, 2005). Koss (1985) argued that there were many "hidden" rape victims—victims that did not report to police or crisis centres and therefore whose experiences were previously left uncounted. Her work suggests that incidence rates of sexual violence are much higher than originally estimated: around 25% of women report experiences of rape or attempted rape and over 50% report some form of sexual victimization (Koss & Oros, 1982; Koss, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). In addition, Koss (1985) reported that most assaults are committed by an acquaintance or romantic intimate, a claim that contradicted popular understanding of rape.

More recent work supports Koss' earlier findings. Meta-analyses of rape prevalence statistics suggest that between 18% and 27% of adult women experienced rape (Alksnis, Desmarais, Senn, & Hunter, 2000; Spitzberg, 1999; Koss, 1993) and around 14% of men experience sexual assault (Spitzberg) A Canadian national survey revealed similar statistics. Results suggest that 39% of women have experienced a sexual assault and that 51% of adult women experience sexual assault (including a sexual attack or unwanted sexual touching) or a physical assault (Johnson & Sacco, 1995). In addition, the often cited Ms. report on date and acquaintance rape (Warshaw, 1988) reports that 85% of assaults are committed by acquaintances confirming Koss' earlier assertion that most perpetrators are known to the victims. Since then, it has been

recognized that the vast majority of sexual assaults are committed by someone known to the survivor.

Feminist activists were also instrumental in advocating for legal reform that recognized survivors' experiences. Many changes have been made including the removal of the marital exception to rape law, the expansion of the definition to include activities other than penetration of a vagina by a penis and the inclusion of a definition of consent. Thus sexual assault is defined in Canada as any sexual activity or sexual touching without consent. Consent is defined as the "voluntary agreement of the complainant to engage in the sexual activity in question" (House of Commons, 1992). In addition, consent cannot be obtained by the words or conduct of someone other than the complainant, if the complainant is incapable of consenting (including because she/he was drunk or passed out), if the accused pressures the complainant to consent by abusing a position of power, or if the complainant expresses (verbally or nonverbally) a lack of desire to participate in the activity or to continue the activity. Under the Criminal Code a defendant cannot claim a mistaken belief in consent if he/she is willfully blind or has failed to take reasonable steps to ascertain consent.

Recent decisions, including a Supreme Court decision in *Ewanchuk,* have further delineated the legal meaning of consent. This decision determined that there is no such thing as implied consent: consent means a positive communication of agreement rather than the failure to say no and that continuing sexual activity after someone says no, even if the accused waited awhile before continuing, is "at minimum reckless conduct which is inexcusable" (*Ewanchuk*

decision as cited in Gotell, submitted). Thus, the Canadian legal definition presents a version of consent that is similar to what Pineau (1989) describes as communicative sexuality (that I will discuss in Chapter Two).

Legal definitions vary considerably across jurisdictions. Some states in the United States (US) define rape as sex that is both forced and without consent (McGregor, 1996; West, 1996). Within this understanding of rape, a broad definition of consent is often taken up where any acquiescence to sex, regardless of the presence of force or coercion, is considered consent. Thus, if someone indicates assent or acquiescence as a result of force, the act cannot legally be considered rape. This differs considerably from the Canadian legal definition of consent and prevents many harmful acts being considered criminal. For example a man in Texas was acquitted because, although he broke into a woman's home and threatened her with a knife, she begged him to use a condom and the first grand jury believed this action indicated consent (using an obviously broad definition of consent; McGregor, 1996).

In Scotland rape "consists of a male person having vaginal sexual intercourse with a female person by force where that sort of intercourse is also against her will" (The Scottish Parliament, 2001, p. 1). This definition is a gender specific understanding and applies only to vaginal intercourse. Similar to some American definitions the Scottish legal definition also requires the presence of force, but rather than consent the focus is on whether the activity was "against her will" (The Scottish Parliament). Thus, it must be demonstrated that a woman withdrew her consent to the sexual activity. Even in cases where a woman was

unconscious she must have withdrawn her consent prior to her unconscious state.

> But where the accused has no involvement at all in producing the victim's state of insensibility and where he happens upon her by chance and has sexual intercourse with her when she is totally unaware of his presence and intentions, then it cannot be established that she demonstrated unwillingness. Therefore, it cannot be shown that any force was used to overcome unwillingness... there is no rape (The Scottish Parliament, p. 4).

This is a very restrictive definition of rape that ignores many other ways In which women and men are sexually victimized and allows no legal recourse for other acts of sexual violence.

In response to inadequate legal definitions of sexual assault, feminist activists in the 1970s campaigned for the politicization of sexual violence and violence against women. "No means no" became a popular slogan emphasizing that women do not say "no" when they mean "yes". This slogan gained popularity around college campuses in the mid 1980s (Ontario Women's Justice Network, 2000) and in 1988 became the title of a made for TV movie (No means no, 1988). This slogan turned into one of the most well-recognized statements from anti-sexual violence activists and is entrenched in popular understanding of consent and sexual violence. The slogan is used as a tagline for newspaper articles and has been used as nickname for new consent law in Canada (Gotell, Submitted) and the United Kingdom ('No' means no, 2006).

For feminist activists the slogan goes beyond a statement regarding a verbal "no" and emphasizes multiple ways to say 'no' to sex. The website for the Canadian Federation of Students lists other ways that women "say no" including

"I'm not sure", "you've been drinking", "I have a boyfriend" and silence (Canadian Federation of Students, 2006).

Unfortunately, focusing on 'no means no' highlights women's resistance to sex and obscures women's desires and ways that they actively seek out and participate in sexual activity. Thus, an understanding of willingness and consent based on this slogan emphasizes the importance for men in particular to stop when a woman indicates she does not want to continue, but ignores women's indications of willingness, interest in and desire for sex.

While the 'no means no' campaign was focused on public awareness, there were also smaller and more local strategies for public awareness of sexual violence. For example, in the late 1990s, the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre developed a controversial ad campaign to increase awareness and discussion of sexual assault. The theme of the campaign was "how to rape your date". Three different styles of posters and 'postcards' were created and were put up around the University of Toronto campus, and subway stations around the city. The posters all began with the slogan "how to rape your date" and had numbered "tips" for "raping your date". The final line was "oh by the way, it's a crime", along with the logo and name of the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre. Tip "#5" was

> "Combining tactics can be quite rewarding. Use every trick you've got. Pressure her, lie to her and remind her who just paid for the movie. But most importantly, keep working her and never let up. Try buying her a rose or a hot dog on the way home. Yeah baby.... OH BY THE WAY, IT'S A CRIME." (Lypchuk, 1998, emphasis in orginal).

These posters were considered quite controversial and were pulled from circulation among first year students at two different colleges in Toronto.

Administrators feared that the posters sent mixed messages and that some students might be confused or get the wrong message (Clarke, 1998). The point of the campaign was to increase discussion about issues of violence and to challenge men's (and women's) attitudes about date rape and what it is by highlighting similarities between date rape and dating behaviours (Brittain, 2006).

In addition to public awareness campaigns, many campuses and schools have created programs to raise awareness in an attempt to prevent sexual violence. Many of these programs are targeted at women in an effort to tell them how they can avoid being sexually assaulted. These strategies often involve "tips" for women to avoid being sexually assaulted. Suggestions like "say no clearly", be assertive, defend your limits (eg. Student Affairs, 2006), limit your consumption of alcohol and drugs, trust your instincts (Hendersonville Police Department, 2006) and tell your date several days in advance that you do not want to have sex with him even though you are still looking forward to the date (Weitz, 2002). These tips fail to address patriarchal discourses underlying heterosexual relations that contribute to a culture of rape and place the onus on women to prevent their own sexual assault experiences. This can result in "blaming the victim" by implying that if a woman obeys the "tips" then she should not be sexually assaulted.

Some education programs have recognized the limits of giving tips to women as a beneficial prevention strategy and employ different prevention strategies. Debunking rape myths is one of the most common strategies and has been found to reduce rape supportive attitudes. However, it is not clear how this

strategy impacts behaviour (Lonsway, 1996). Additionally, interactive presentation styles have been more effective than lecture style presentations (Lonsway, 1996). Empathy induction techniques have also been used, in which participants are asked to either imagine that they are a victim of a sexual assault or that someone they care about is a victim of an assault. These have been found to decrease rape supportive beliefs for women, but not for men (Lonsway, 1996).

However, most research on the effectiveness of rape prevention education has focused on change in attitude rather than change in behaviour. While some studies reported positive changes in attitudes (see Pacifici, Stoolmiller, & Nelson, 2001; Lonsway, 1996; Fenow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992; Gilbert, Heesacker, & Gannon, 1991), recent research suggests that they are largely ineffective at reducing the incidence of sexual assault or changing behaviour (Carmody, 2005; Carmody, 2003; Carmody & Carrington, 2000; Breitenbecher & Scarce, 1999; Breitenbecher & Gidycz, 1998).

The lack of change regarding the incidence of sexual violence suggests that different prevention strategies should be utilized. Marcus (1992) argues for a different conceptualization of rape, one that views rape as a linguistic fact rather than a real and fixed fact of women's lives. By describing rape as a linguistic fact Marcus argues that rape is like a language:

> The language of rape solicits women to position ourselves as endangered, violable, and fearful and invites men to position themselves as legitimately violent and entitled to women's sexual services. This language structures physical actions and responses as well as words, and forms, for example, the would-be rapist's

> feelings of powerfulness and our commonplace sense of paralysis when threatened with rape (p. 390).

Thus, Marcus (1992) argues that prevention strategies can encourage women to disrupt the rape script. She encourages women to use violence as a way to defend themselves against rape. This is a strategy that is also advocated by others and many self-defense programs exist in an attempt to teach women to defend themselves against an attacker. Unfortunately, many of these programs support the common myth that women are often attacked by strangers. However, Burton (1998) argues that there is a "tendency to mythologize self-defense, or rather to mythologize strength. Strength is considered to be the domain of men, to be something that women could possibly attain but do not at present possess" (p.197). It is partly this myth that Marcus is also trying to address by suggesting that women begin to disrupt the language of rape and take up a subject position of resistant violence. She argues that one reason why more women do not attempt to disrupt the rape script by resisting physically is because of the dominant female subject position is constructed as passive. Thus, by resisting and interrupting the rape script women will simultaneously create alternative subject positions for themselves and consequently for men.

While most prevention strategies target either women, or both women and men, a few programs have been developed exclusively for men (See Montagna, 2000; Gilbert, Heesacker, & Gannon, 1991). Montagna argues that men-only space is important in order to establish a safe space for men to talk about their feelings related to sexual violence and to interrogate constructions of masculinity and male power. In this space men can speak honestly about their

attitudes toward women and sexual violence and can therefore work toward developing more respectful attitudes about women and sex.

Due to the unchanged rates of sexual violence, Carmody (2003; 2005) argues for a new approach to violence prevention—an approach based on sexual ethics. She uses Foucault's notion of ethics and power. According to this view, power is not monolithic, but is "mobile and productive and in a constant state of negotiation" (Carmody, 2003, p. 208). Central to this view of sexual ethics is Foucault's notion of "rapport à soi" (care for the self). For someone to act as an ethical subject he/she must take care of him/herself and this also implies complex relationships with others. If someone abuses power and imposes their sexual actions on another they cease to become ethical subjects because they are but "slaves" to their own desires. Carmody (2005) interviewed adults about their sexual relationships and found evidence of a practice of sexual ethics. She argues that violence prevention through a lens of sexual ethics may be more successful at reducing rates of sexual violence compared with current strategies. She suggests teaching young adults to behave in sexually ethical ways, to look after themselves and consequently their partners as an alternative to current rape prevention strategies.

Violence prevention strategies are varied and are most often developed in the absence of research on sexual consent and the normative ways that people negotiate and agree to participate in sexual relations. Thus, some education programs assume that there is little to no existing communication of willingness or consent and present "ideal" ways of communicating consent. The present

study elucidates the ways that young adults understand casual sex negotiation and the ways that they construct sexual consent. It is likely that participants will be more receptive to educational efforts that build on their understating and knowledge about sexual relations, rather than the suggestion that people change the way they engage in sexual activity.

Unwanted sex

Despite the propensity for legal understandings of sexual violence (and often violence prevention programs) to construct a dichotomous version of sexual relations that is either violent or non-violent, many sexual experiences fall into what Gavey (2005) refers to as a "complex grey area" between overtly violent experiences and desired and pleasurable experiences. Some scholars have referred to experiences within this grey area as "unwanted" sexual experiences. Thus, in order to fully understand the casual sex experiences of YAJs, it is important to consider topics of unwanted sex and explore the space "in between" violent experiences and desired and pleasurable experiences.

Despite significant legal reforms and a broad understanding of sexual violence, many authors argue that the current definitions of sexual violence and consent still do not encompass all the possible harmful forms of sex that women experience. Researchers have begun examining the "harms of consensual sex" (West, 2002) and "unwanted" sex (Gavey, 2005; Walker, 1997; Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994). Many scholars have interrogated women's (and men's) consent to "unwanted" sex (See Gavey, 2005; Impett & Peplau, 2002; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Walker, 1997; Hannon, Hall,

Kuntz, Van Laar & Williams, 1995; Specher et al., 1994; Muehlenhard & Cook; 1988).

Definitions of "unwanted" sex are diverse. Several authors are interested specifically in situations where consent was given freely, thus people were "feigning sexual desire or interest" (Impett & Peplau, 2002; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998). However, other authors are not as clear. Walker reports that some women consent to unwanted sexual activity due to coercion from their partner. Gavey (2005) discusses a spectrum of unwanted sex including situations where a woman participated in sexual activity due to direct pressure from their partners, where she did not feel that it was her right to refuse, or where she did not know how to refuse or where she did not desire sex, but participated in it freely and willingly.

The problem with the multiple definitions of "unwanted" sex is that different definitions have different implications for understandings of consent and heterosex in general. Some of these definitions would fit the Canadian legal definition of sexual assault. Other definitions would reside outside of the Canadian legal definition but still suggest social problems or issues regarding heterosex. For example, a woman may say "yes" because she feels that it is her responsibility to have sex with a man because she owes him something or does not know how to refuse sex. It is possible to see how these scenarios can be harmful for this woman, yet it may not be possible (or appropriate) to hold her male partner criminally accountable. This is similar to coercion from social forces like compulsory heterosexuality that I will discuss in the next chapter. Finally, it

may be possible that a woman says "yes" to sexual activity freely. She may not feel desire or arousal and even though she knows that she can refuse, she engages in sex because she thinks that it may be pleasurable for her anyway.

Examining literature on unwanted sex can therefore create a tangled web. By some accounts, unwanted sex is unproblematic and may represent something quite common in many healthy sexual relationships. However, by other accounts unwanted sex can be quite harmful and potentially criminal. Thus, rather than presenting an aggregate of the findings related to unwanted sex, I will take a look at a few of the larger studies of unwanted sex that span this spectrum and their implications for work on consent and heterosex.

Sprecher et al. (1994) examined consent to "unwanted" sex in the United States, Russia and Japan. They used a broad definition of unwanted sex and asked respondents if they were ever with someone who wanted to have sex when they did not want to and they had sex anyway. They reported that between 25% and 55% percent of people reported engaging in unwanted sex at least once. More American women reported engaging in unwanted sex than any other group while the fewest people to report engaging in unwanted sex were Japanese women (25%). Between 30 and 35% of men in all countries reported engaging in unwanted sex.

Walker (1997) conducted a meta-analysis of literature on young women's and adolescent girls' reasons for consenting to unwanted sex. She reports that 95% of young women had been pressured into consenting to an unwanted sexual activity. She also reports women's reasons for participating in sexual

activity for the first time was often influenced by the desire to please their partner and peer pressure. Other reasons cited for participating in unwanted sex include altruism, intoxication, enticement, verbal coercion, and a man's sexual arousal was so great that the women believed it was useless to try and stop.

Gavey (2005) produced one of the most in-depth analyses of women's participation in unwanted sex. She argues that many heteronormative discourses influence and persuade women into participating in sex they do not want. These discourses are part of what she refers to as the "cultural scaffolding of rape". Gavey discusses many reasons why women might "consent" to unwanted sex including: (1) that they understand heterosex to be compulsory and either do not think to say no or do not think they have an option, (2) that often men may not understand a woman's subtle ways of saying 'no' and that to resist further "she is required to act in a way that not only strongly challenges the norms of femininity, but also contravenes the norms of everyday communication" (p.144), (3) that women may "freely" and legitimately consent to sex that is not wanted in the moment, but is still pleasurable and harm-free, however that there are times when women give sex for altruistic reasons that may also create harm—"giving because you have to" (p.151), (4) that a woman might "consent" to sex because she fears being raped. These "choices" are made within a heteronormative patriarchal structure that shapes and limits women's options. Through Gavey's analysis of the links between women's experiences of unwanted sex and dominant heteronormative discourses it becomes possible to understand the

ways that women's choices are constrained by these discourses and how normative sexual behaviour is related to sexually violent behaviour.

Sexual desire

Discussing issues of sexual consent and violence often calls into question a woman's desires. Questions include: did she want to have sex? Was it desired? Was she a willing participant? Understanding women's and men's desires for casual sex and the discourses impacting the expression of those desires contributes to an overall understanding of the ways that casual sex takes place.

Wendy Hollway (1996) offers an 'everyday' definition of sexual desire that is "a combination of attraction towards and erotic excitement in a sexual encounter with another person" (p. 91). However she argues that this definition is of little use in understanding sexual desire. She turns to psychoanalytic theory and argues that "sex reproduces the physical intimacies which I characterized as the 'state of bliss' side of infantile experience". Thus sexual desire is the desire to be recognized and touched in ways similar to the physical contact we received as infants. Many feminists have argued that heterosexual desire reinforces a patriarchal power structure and is a desire for sexual domination by a man. Hollway argues for a version of heterosexual desire that "has the capacity to resist patriarchal heterosexuality" (p.94). She argues that mutual recognition is possible within heterosexual relationships and thus it is possible for women to be recognized "entirely for who one is" (p.104) and desired not only as a sexual object.

While not taking a critical understanding of desire similar to the one suggested by Hollway (1996), many studies have been conducted on women's experiences of sexual desire and the discrepancies in desire between women and men. In contemporary psychology literature, desire is often referred to as a "drive" (Beck, Bozman & Qualtrough, 1991) or as the strength of sexual motivation and the craving for sexual activity (Baumeister, Catanese & Vohs, 2001).

In studies examining sexual desire, men reported greater frequency of sexual desire compared with women, as judged by frequency of sexual thoughts and sexual fantasies (Baumeister et al, 2001; Laumann et al., 1994; Beck et al, 1991). Although most men and women reported engaging in undesired sex, more women than men reported engaging in sexual activity without desire. The most frequently cited reason for engaging in undesired sex was to please their partner. To gauge their level of sexual desire, women reported using genital arousal, intercourse and sexual daydreams as indications of their level of desire while men used sexual fantasies, genital arousal and sexual daydreams (Beck et al.).

The current study is not focused specifically on sexual desire, however sexual desire likely plays a role in the casual sex of YAJs. Michelle Fine (1988) refers to the "missing discourse of desire" within sex education programs in schools. She argues that young women (and men) are introduced to sexuality issues from a perspective of sexual health (including pregnancy and STIs) and biological functioning without attention to desire and how to negotiate sexual

desires. Gavey (2005) instead refers to the "discourse of missing desire" to describe how women are not expected to cultivate and express their sexual desires, thus the expectation of women's sexual desire is absent in discourses and understandings of heterosex.

Deborah Tolman (2002) interrogated adolescent female sexual desire and she too refers to the "missing discourse of desire". She argues that "teenage girls continue to be denied entitlement to their own sexuality" (p. 7) and are left without much potential for a sexual subjectivity. She argues that the development of this subjectivity is important for young girls to become "healthy" sexual adults. However, while boys are granted sexual subjectivity and encouraged to develop their sexual selves, girls are left as the mediators of boys' sexual desire and thus cannot have sexual desire of their own.

> A gendered perspective on adolescent sexuality offers more explanation for what is behind the urgency of resisting girls' sexual desire: Girls' *lack* of desire serves as the linchpin in how adolescent sexuality is organized and managed. To the extent we believe that adolescent sexuality is under control, it is adolescent girls whom we hold responsible because we do not believe boys can or will be. (p. 15; emphasis in original)

While I am interested in young adults' constructions of casual sex and consent, rather than adolescents, this perspective on adolescent sexuality is useful. The young adults whom I encountered in Jasper are just coming out of adolescence. Many are away from home for the first time and likely have sexual freedom in a way they may not have experienced before. If these women, like the girls in Tolman's study, were denied their own sexual desire during their adolescence, they may be able to find a place for it while in Jasper. Alternatively, they may reproduce the subjectivities (or lack of subjectivity) of their youth and

desire may remain absent in their discussions of casual sex. Understanding women's and men's desires for casual sex and the discourses impacting the expression of those desires contributes to an overall understanding of the ways that casual sex takes place.

Many of the stories I heard from women in Jasper were reminiscent of what Gavey (2005) refers to as the "discourse of missing desire". Absent in women's discussions of casual sex was a sense of their own desire for those experiences. In the analysis that follows, I discuss how heteronormative discourses can be heard through the stories of these women and discuss the consequences of these discourses for their expressions of sexual desire.

Normative heterosex: Radical feminism and sexual script theory

There are many different theoretical approaches to studying and understanding heteronormative sexual relationships. In this section I describe three different approaches. Sexual script theory views sexual behaviours, including heterosexual casual sex, as cultural productions that are mediated by normative "scripts" or patterns. These scripting approaches position men as initiators of sexual activity and women as "gatekeepers" who choose when to accept men's invitations. Radical feminists critique the institution of heterosexuality and argue that sexual relations are the mechanism through which men continue to oppress women. Thus, while radical feminists argue that women have little control over sex, a scripting perspective suggests that women can exercise a lot of control over sex. I argue that these two positions oversimplify the issue of power as it relates to heterosexuality. I agree with the

radical feminist position that heterosexual relations are constructed through a male model of sexual desires. However, power is not monolithic, I argue that women can and do carve out spaces for agency and control. One of these ways is through deciding with whom and when to engage in sex.

Hollway's (1984a) discussion of dominant heteronormative discourses provides a useful entry point through which to explore power dynamics within heterosexual relationships. Hollway (1984a) argues that "heterosexual relations are the primary site where gender difference is re-produced" (p.228). She identifies three discourses of heterosexuality that make available certain subjectivities for women and men. First, the "male sexual drive" discourse suggests that men's desire and need for sexual activity is innate—that men have a biologically insatiable urge to have sex and are forever in search of sex. Through this discourse women are positioned as sexual objects. Second, the "have/hold" discourse highlights women's sexuality as defined by the Madonna/whore binary. Within this discourse, the focus for women is on "keeping her man" and consequently positions men as the objects of this discourse. Third, the "permissive" discourse challenges monogamy and opposes the have/hold discourse while acting as an "offspring" of the male sexual drive discourse. Within the permissive discourse, sex is viewed as natural for both women and men. Thus, women are given "permission" to participate in sexual activity outside of committed relationships, although in a way that supports the male sexual drive discourse.

Within these discourses, a restrictive set of subjectivities become available to women (and men). For example, under the male sexual drive discourse women are objects of men's desires, within the have/hold discourse women engage in sex to secure a lasting relationship with a man, and while women are allowed to engage in sex outside of 'monogamy' within the permissive discourse, sex is still constructed through the male sexual drive discourse, with the assumption that "sex" refers to intercourse. Thus, there is little space for female-desired sexual activity or sexual activity that does not fit within this masculine structure. These discourses produce subjectivities that accept that men's sexual drive is 'natural' and 'unstoppable'. Throughout my analysis I use these discourses identified by Hollway (1984a) to discuss the ways that YAJs negotiate casual sex and the consequences for women and men when they position themselves within these discourses.

As a result of the dominant construction of heterosex through a lens of masculinity, women must actively take up and create other subjectivities to resist the dominant patriarchal and heteronormative discourses. Many radical feminists advocate "political lesbianism," where women refrain from engaging in sexual activity with men (Jeffreys, 1990). According to this radical feminist position, "it is specifically through sexuality that the fundamental oppression (that of men over women) is maintained" (p. 291).

Kitzinger and Wilkinson (1994) critiqued two recent suggestions for creating spaces for heterosexuality that challenge patriarchal norms. The first suggestion was for women to refuse to engage in penile/vaginal intercourse with

men, but continue to engage in other forms of sexual activity with men allowing women remain "virgins". The second was for women to take up 'queer' identities even though they have sexual relations with men. These women would be making a political statement by identifying as "queer" and actively resist dominant heteronormative discourses within their relationships. Kitzinger and Wilkinson reject both of these and argue that they fail to address the radical lesbian critique that heterosexuality is a compulsory institution. They remain hopeful about possibilities for heterosexual women to find ways of being in relationships that challenge patriarchy, but are not convinced of any existing strategies to accomplish this end. They still view political lesbianism as the most viable option.

I use this critique of heterosexuality to sensitize myself to these "problems" with heterosexuality. While I can see potential for women to benefit from the excluding men from as sexual partners, this critique seems too rigid. I do not view male power as monolithic, and argue that there are ways that women are exercising power and agency within their sexual relationships with men. I emphasize the possibilities for women's agency (albeit constrained) and I articulate ways that women are exercising agency and power within casual sex relations in Jasper.

Counter to the radical feminist position many sexual script theorists imply that women control sex in heterosexual relationships. Sexual script theory assumes that sexual behaviour is a learned cultural phenomenon, that in order to act in sexual situation participants (or actors) must be able to identify sexual

situations and know how to respond appropriately to them. Culturally specific patterns of behaviours, or scripts, are developed to guide actors through sexual situations (Gagnon, 1990). Scripts vary by culture and by individual, so that no two people will have identical sexual scripts, but people within a specific culture should have scripts that are reasonably similar (McCormick, 1987).

Recent studies on sexual scripts and sexual initiation suggest that men initiate sex, while women are the limit-setters and gatekeepers of sexual activity (Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005; Laner & Ventrone, 1998; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992; Byers & Heinlein, 1989). According to these scholars, women's gatekeeping role is viewed as controlling men's access to sex and consequently controlling when a couple engages in sex. The presumption is that men are always willing to engage in sex, and are forever looking for sex. Thus, even though men are initiating sex, it is women who control when it happens by refusing a good portion of the time and relenting at other times (Byers, 1996).

Sexual script theorists argue that normative scripts place men in the position of sexual initiator and women in the role of "gatekeepers", who ultimately decide whether or not and when a couple will engage in sex (Weaver & Herold, 2000; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). However, sexual script theorists naturalize the male sexual drive discourse, assuming that men pursue sex and women control men's access to sex. Men are thus viewed as active while women remain passive and only choose whether or not to allow men access to sex.

While the scripting approach can be useful to describe patterns in sexual behaviours, and the radical feminist critique sensitizes researchers and feminists

to power issues within sexual relations, I find Hollway's (1984a) approach the most useful and well balanced. By examining casual sex through dominant discourses of heterosexuality it is possible to understand how patriarchal power imbalances have created certain normative sexual patterns while at the same time opening spaces for alternative forms of sexual expression and use of power.

Casual sex

While my major area of interest is in consent and the communication of willingness, I chose specifically to study consent within casual sex experiences. Most often casual partners do not know one another well; sometimes they have never met prior to the night they hook up, thus communication must rely on normative patterns and expectations. In this section I review existing literature on casual sex to situate this project.

Casual sex can be defined in various ways. An understanding of casual sex requires a definition of what is meant by 'casual' and simultaneously what is meant by 'sex'. The *casual* part of 'casual' sex can relate to the amount of time that the two people have known one another, or the amount of emotional attachment they have (Weaver & Herold, 2000). *Casual* sex can be a "one night stand" where two people meet and engage in sex that same day and never see each other again. Also it could be sex between acquaintances, without an intention of developing a relationship. Another possibility could be regular sex with a partner with whom there is no committed relationship, just an understanding that they may have sex occasionally (Weaver & Herold, 2000; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). *Sex* can be defined purely as penile vaginal intercourse

or can also include anal sex, oral sex, and other types of penetrative sex or hand-genital contact (Weaver & Herold, 2000).

Due to the varying definitions associated with casual sex, there is a large range of reported rates of casual sex. Studies suggest that between 13 and 73% of young women have engaged in casual sex depending on the definition used (Apostolopoulos, Sonmez, & Yu, 2002; Hennick, Cooper & Diamond, 2000; Weaver & Herold, 2000; Maticka-Tyndale & Herold, 1997). In Weaver and Herold's study 13% of women had engaged in sexual intercourse with someone they met that day, and 73% had engaged in other forms of sex (oral sex or hand-genital stimulation) with someone with whom they were not in a committed relationship.

Paul (2006) uses the term "hookups" to describe a specific type of casual sex experience of college students. A hookup is a "brief sexual encounter between two people who either do not know each other at all or who are just acquainted" (p. 141). The sexual encounter can range from sexual intercourse to kissing and petting and most hookups are intended as a one-time event. Paul reported that around two thirds of college students have engaged in a hookup. I use the term "hook up" throughout the thesis to refer to many of the casual sex experiences of YAJs.

Women and men report a variety of reasons for engaging in heterosexual casual sex. The most often reported reasons include: sexual desire, physical pleasure, spontaneity, alcohol or intoxication, sexual fantasy, to develop a relationship, to avoid getting into a relationship and to increase social standing among peers (Weaver & Herold, 2000; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). Women often report that they engage in casual sex to increase their chances of developing a relationship, while men focus more on their relationship with their peers and

report increased social status as a result of engaging in casual sex (Regan & Dreyer). Reasons for not engaging in casual sex included fear of HIV, STIs, pregnancy and/or physical harm, guilt, moral reasons and not wanting friends and families to find out they had casual sex (Weaver & Herold, 2000).

This literature describes the reasons that women and men reported engaging in casual sex; however the discussion of these reasons and the ways in which women and men talk about engaging in casual sex remains at a descriptive, rather than analytic, level. To push this analysis further I take a discourse analysis perspective and approach the stories and words not only as a reflection of their perspective, but as imbedded within dominant cultural discourses of heterosexuality, and as producing certain subjectivities.

Paul (2006) reported that communication is most often nonverbal during hookups and verbal behaviour is sometimes viewed as "breaking the moment". Thus, young people participating in hookups must rely exclusively on shared cultural and discursive understandings of casual sex and the expression of interest in engaging in casual sex. Since these understandings are my central interest, I chose to study casual sex. It is likely that many young people in established relationships also deploy dominant heteronormative discourses while engaging in sex; however they have the additional advantage of including interpersonal knowledge and communication that is not yet developed in casual relationships.

Seasonal work and casual sex

Seasonal workers have been found to engage in higher rates of casual sex than their resident counterparts (Hennick, Cooper & Diamond, 2000; Burrows & Olsen, 1998). Additionally, associated consequences of high levels of sex including high rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are reported in communities with large transient populations (Burrows & Olsen). Many seasonal workers report changes in their behaviour while working at the resort setting, including spending more time socializing and drinking (Burrows & Olsen). Participants report a variety of reasons for the increased level of casual sex in this environment including influence from other workers who were engaging in casual sex, lack of restrictions from home including parental control, having their own place that is private enough to be able to have casual sex and consuming large quantities of alcohol on a regular basis.

The propensity for seasonal workers to participate in casual sex seems to have connections to research conducted with young adults on holiday. Several researchers have reported that young people engage in higher rates of casual sex while on vacation (Maticka-Tyndale & Herold, 1997; Eiser & Ford, 1995). Eiser & Ford argue that this is an example of "situational disinhibition": people behave differently when they enter different situations. They argue that social context influences how individuals see their behaviour and determine what is acceptable or unacceptable. They suggest that people are far more likely to engage in casual sex while on vacation because they view the holiday

environment as consisting of different goals and as providing different opportunities than are normally found at home.

Considering that seasonal workers are living in the same environment with the tourists, and that researchers have reported higher rates of casual sex among seasonal workers, it is likely that SWs experience situational disinhibition similar to tourists. Éiser and Ford (1995) suggest that situational disinhibition is a result of adaptations that people make to different settings: when people arrive in a setting with high levels of casual sex, they adapt and change their sense of self to fit within this new environment.

In order to understand the context in which casual sex takes place I wanted to spend time in a location where I would be able to observe young adults "hooking up" for casual sex and where there would be a high concentration of young people engaging in casual sex. Given the anecdotal reports I received from people who had spent time working in mountain resort communities and the literature cited above, I decided to spend two months during the summer in Jasper, Alberta: one of the most popular resort destinations in Canada.

Conclusion

In this chapter I reviewed literatures that have informed my inquiry into heterosexual casual sex and consent. Research on sexual violence is relevant for contextualizing the importance of consent as a concept that informs legal and social understandings of acceptable versus unacceptable sexual behaviours. In the discussion chapter I highlight the implications of this project on legal

understandings of sexual consent and sexual assault. Examining date rape education is important so that we can then look ahead and make suggestions for change. In the analysis that follows I argue for changes in sex education that build on young adults' knowledge and understanding of negotiating casual sex, rather than attempting to change the ways that young people engage in sex. Inquiring into the spaces in between sexual violence and "consensual" sex is important to understand the spectrum of sexual activity that women participate in and the contexts under which they consent, acquiesce or agree to participate in casual sex.

In order to understand why women participate in certain sexual activities I examine the heteronormative discourses that govern desire, the expression of that desire and the subject positions available to women and men within these discourses. Finally, since I am interested exclusively in casual sex (for the purposes of this study) an examination of the rates of casual sex and the reasons for engaging in casual sex and especially the contextual shifts in casual sex are important because they prepared me to enter the field. I use this discussion of casual sex to inform the context of my study.

CHAPTER TWO

'Spontaneous' sexual consent: An analysis of sexual consent literature[2]

The purpose of this chapter is to situate this project within current discussions and debates about sexual consent. Specifically, I argue that conceptual understandings of consent including those used in social research and legal theory, research on sexual consent behaviours, and the communicative model of sexuality are underdeveloped and rely largely on assumed and implied definitions.

Implied definitions of consent often create contradictory meanings of consent, even within the same text, and thus cloud and confuse issues of consent. Many implied definitions assume a gendered version of consent where women *give* consent *to* men, thus positioning men as the initiators of sexual activity and women as limit-setters or "gatekeepers" to sexuality. This leaves little room for female initiated sexual activity or other variations of the heteronormative script.

There is disagreement within scholarly work regarding the conditions under which it is possible to give consent. Some authors, and indeed some legal jurisdictions, argue that consent is given any time a person agrees to or acquiesces to another's desire for sexual activity, regardless of the use of force or coercion. I argue (as do several other scholars; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Humphreys, 1999) that by definition consent must be given free from coercion or force. However, it is unclear what types of coercion consensual sex

---

[2] A version of this chapter has been submitted for review to Feminism & Psychology.

must be "free" from. There is general consensus (at least among scholars supporting this version of consent) that consent must be free from interpersonal coercion (meaning coercion directly from a sexual partner). However, it is not clear how social coercive forces (like compulsory heterosexuality) impact the communication of consent.

Within this chapter, I also examine the potential for consent to exist as a behavioural phenomenon defined through certain behaviours, or a mental phenomenon representing an individual's mental state. Neither version on its own is satisfactory (Muehlenhard, 1996). I argue for a version that takes into consideration both a mental willingness to participate in sexual activity and a physical or behavioural communication of that willingness.

Next I argue against an understanding that presents consent as a agent of moral transformation: that consent turns a morally problematic activity into a morally acceptable activity.

Subsequently I discuss Pineau's (1989; 1996) proposal for the implementation of a communicative model of sexuality, where it is expected that partners communicate their sexual desires and wishes with one another. I take up this idea of communicative sexuality throughout my readings of YAJs descriptions of their casual sex experiences and begin to interrogate the normative and conventional ways that women and men communicate this willingness and agree to have sex. I do not attempt to develop a list of "acceptable" consent behaviours, or to begin labeling certain sexual events as "consensual" (or not), but to begin developing theory on the ways that partners

understand one another's willingness. It is only by developing an understanding of "consensual" experiences that we can really begin to examine what "is absent" in non-consensual experiences.

Finally, I draw on the existing literature on behavioural and attitudinal representations of consent to set the stage for this project. To date there are only a handful of studies that interrogate the ways that people understand and communicate consent. These studies are largely quantitative and are thus limited in the context surrounding the communication of consent. The current study furthers the understanding of the ways that young people construct sexual consent, through an in-depth analysis of consent to casual sex in the context of workers in Jasper.

Most of the literature reviewed in this chapter is from the work of legal scholars, as is most of the existing literature on sexual consent. Through this literature, it is possible to see how the concept of consent is embedded within the law, and concerned largely with differentiating "consensual" sexual activities from those punishable through the law. This project begins to disentangle the concept of consent in the way it is understood as a lay concept from the legal concept of consent. When engaging in casual sex, YAJs rarely engage with a discourse of consent; rather, they are concerned about their partner's comfort level and willingness. These are arguablely related to consent, but are not necessarily consent in and of themselves. Thus, I argue that violence prevention strategies should adopt the discourses that are being used by YAJs in order to get their point across.

Spontaneous consent.

Many scholarly conceptualizations of sexual consent can be described as an example of what Bourdieu, Chamboredon, and Passeron, (1991) refer to as "spontaneous sociology": the adoption of the common sense meanings of concepts without critically reflecting on the cultural, historical and social forces that produced those meanings. Most literature on sexual violence that mentions consent fails to discuss the meaning of sexual consent, to define it explicitly, or to question how certain social discourses are deployed to produce dominant understandings of consent. As a result, the reader is left with the task of figuring out the definition implied by the authors, or assuming their own definition.

For example, some authors use the term sexual consent to imply a boundary or dividing line. In these cases sexual consent is used to distinguish good sex from bad sex (Wertheimer, 2003), pleasurable sex from unpleasurable sex (Jones, 2002-03), morally unproblematic sex from morally problematic sex (Hurd, 1996) or making love from a criminal act (Archard, 1998)[3]. If these distinctions represent the boundary created by consent, then we should be able to distinguish consensual from non-consensual sex by examining the resulting sexual activity – i.e. Was it pleasurable? Was it good? Was morally unproblematic? Was it making love? The boundaries created by these arbitrary definitions confuse the understanding of consent. There are likely many people who have participated in sex that was not pleasurable, although they would

[3] These definitions are not necessarily the only definitions of consent deployed within the works of these authors. Some of the authors create explicit definitions in addition to these "spontaneous" definitions.

argue it was consensual, nonviolent, and non-coercive. Likewise, although consensual sex may be good, and result in making love, not every instance of consensual sex is by default 'good' or 'love-making'. If we are to use consent as the boundary between good and bad sex we also need to define what we mean by 'good' and 'bad' sex.

Other authors fail to articulate a definition of consent in their work. For example, Ostler (2003) does not mention a definition of sexual consent nor does he review literature on sexual consent in his study on consent and dating behaviours. As a result, he assumes a shared understanding of consent with the reader. He suggests that "often times the complainant's specific behavior, whether it is sexual or not during the date often reflects sexual consent" (p. 22). He argues women sometimes behave in ways that are indicative of sexual consent, even when they do not intend to consent to sex. Therefore in rape trials these women's behaviours should be considered probative of sexual consent and juries should use this information to reach a verdict. Ostler's implied version of consent assumes a strictly behavioural account. Thus, regardless of a person's desire or willingness, or the context associated with the sexual activity, she or he could inadvertently consent to sex by behaving in certain ways considered "typical" indications of consent.

Similarly, Walker (1997) assumes a definition of consent in her meta-analysis of women's consent to unwanted sexual intercourse. Walker does not explicitly define consent, nor does she discuss the way consent is defined by the studies she reviews. Instead she assumes a shared understanding. She reports

that women consent to unwanted sex for many reasons including because "a man was so sexually aroused it was useless to try and stop" (p.158), verbal coercion and intoxication. Thus, she implies a version of consent that is any agreement to have sex regardless of the presence of direct or indirect coercive pressures.

Sometimes the spontaneous adoption of consent results in conflicting definitions. For example, for the purposes of their study O'Sullivan and Allgeier (1998) suggested that "consensual participation in unwanted sexual activity refers to situations in which a person *freely* consents to sexual activity" (p.234; emphasis added). However, earlier in their introduction they deployed a different meaning of consent. They said that "willing participation... should not be confused with coercive interactions in which a person *consents* to engage in sexual activity but does so under duress" (p.234; emphasis added). The first quote suggests that consent could not occur with the presence of force or coercion, while the second quote suggests that it was possible for people to consent while "under duress". It is unclear whether O'Sullivan and Allgeier were interested only in certain types of "consensual" sex, or if they are using multiple meanings of the word.

Another example of the way that consent is "spontaneously" adopted into scholarly use is the unquestioned assumption of its gendered nature. That is, women give consent to men. For example Ostler's (2003) study examines the ways women "consent" to sex and the ways that men perceive women's consent. He does not discuss the potential for men to give their consent to women,

women's perception of men's consent, or consent between two women or two men. He also does not problematize this gendered division of heterosex. Cowling (2005) and Archard (1998) use gender neutral terms when discussing sexual consent policy; however their examples reflect a similar gender division, with men asking for, or trying to decipher their female partner's consent. Within Archard's chapter on gender, he discusses issues of power that may influence the ability for a woman to freely give consent, but fails to acknowledge his assumption that consent itself is something that women "give" to men.

The assumption of a gendered version of consent is reflective of the gendered nature of sexual violence—many more women suffer violence at the hands of their male partners than vice versa. A sexual script approach to heterosexual relations suggests that men most often initiate sexual activity while women respond to men by either refusing or accepting the initiation (Morokoff, 2000; Byers, 1996; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992). Thus a purely gender neutral understanding of consent fails to consider gendered power relations, and is at least one normative way that many women and men engage in heterosex. However, absent in these discussions are recognitions of lesbian and gay sex (and sexual violence), sex with multiple partners, and heterosex initiated by women.

Consequently, this gendered version of consent assumes that men's consent is ever-present; deploying what Hollway (1985) refers to as the "male sexual drive" discourse, where men are viewed as always desiring sex, and always in pursuit of sex. Through this discourse, men's consent is assumed, so

to question it, or develop an understanding of it would be superfluous. This places women in a position of responding to men's initiations, setting limits and deciding if they want to participate in the sexual activity. This assumption leaves little room for woman-desired and initiated heterosex.

Although it is likely that authors deploying this assumption would recognize that women do initiate sex and that men do not always want sex, it is not clear what happens to consent during female initiated sex, or sex between two men or two women. Is it always assumed that one person asks for consent, while the other gives it? Or are there possibilities for mutually consented-to activities?

These 'spontaneous' understandings of consent are not limited to the few examples described above. By elaborating on these examples I do not mean to suggest that the work of these authors is exceptionally weak, rather I use them to point out to an overall problem within scholarly work that takes up issues related to consent: the general lack of explicitly defining what the authors mean by consent, or the lack of questioning popular and assumed understandings of consent.

Consent as agreement.

While many scholars use the term 'consent' spontaneously, producing multiple and varied meanings, there is general consensus that sexual consent represents some form of agreement to engage in sexual activity. However, there is discrepancy regarding the conditions under which this agreement takes place. Some scholars implicitly or explicitly define consent as "any yes", meaning that

someone gives her/his consent to sex any time they express any agreement to have sex, regardless of the presence or absence of force, coercion or threats. Dripps (1992) defines consent explicitly as "any yes" when he states that "no matter how much force is used to obtain it, consent can still occur" (p. 1793)[4]. Many other scholars define consent more implicitly as "any yes" when they differentiate between 'valid' consent and 'infelicitous' consent (infelicitous consent is either consent that is incorrectly expressed or consent when the choice to have sex is constrained; Sherwin, 1996); full consent, non-full consent, and coerced consent (Panichas, 2001); real consent and quasi consent (Archard, 1998); or valid and invalid consent (Kazan, 1998). By qualifying consent and distinguishing between different types of consent, these authors imply that any agreement to have sex as a result of coercion (for example) is still consent. A system of rules and exceptions are required to determine if the consent is 'full' or just 'partial'. Even after this has been decided it is not clear if 'partial' consent is socially problematic or if it requires any legal recourse.

Not all scholars accept this "any yes" definition of sexual consent. Several studies have presented definitions that specifically require consent to be given freely. According to these definitions it is not possible for someone to consent when they are being coerced or threatened (Hall, 1998; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Humphreys, 2005). Hall defines sexual consent as "the voluntary approval of what is done or proposed by another; permission;

---

[4] Dripps argues that this is the problem with using consent (or lack thereof) as an indication of sexual violence and he suggests that we should stop using the legal concept of consent, and insert other criteria instead.

agreement in opinion or sentiment" (p.6). Hickman and Muelhenhard (1999) define consent as the "free verbal or nonverbal communication of a feeling of willingness" to engage in sexual activity (p. 3).

As a feminist I am attracted to a version of consent that requires consent to be given freely. It places emphasis on women's (and men's) desires and willingness to engage in the sexual activity and avoids the confusion of determining if the consent was 'valid' or not. The qualifications of consent into 'valid' or 'invalid' are confusing and can result in miscommunication between researchers. For example, when scholars are talking about consenting to unwanted sexual activity they may be referring to instances when someone is forced or coerced into having sex, or they may be referring to someone having sex when they do not desire it, but are willing to engage in sex and may even find it pleasurable. These two different versions of "unwanted sex" due to different understandings of consent can have profound consequences. Scholars who support a definition of consent that requires the freedom to choose would label forced or coerced experiences as non-consensual and would argue that consent was not given in those circumstances.

The scholars discussed above who argue consent is by definition given freely, were interested primarily in the dyad involved in the sexual activity. Thus consent must be given free from direct coercion or force from the sexual partner. They do not address larger issues of social forces that impact the free communication of consent. Some feminist scholars move beyond the analysis of the specific situation toward analysis of the social forces that shape and influence

the communication of consent and the activities that are consented to. MacKinnon (1989) argues that is it not possible for women to give consent to men due to the current power relations between men and women. Systems of patriarchy are such that men have power over women, thus women do not have the freedom to give consent, because they are not free subjects. Similarly, West (2002) also emphasizes social forces that influence decisions to engage in sexual activity. West's focus is on compulsory heterosexuality, rather than exclusively power relations between men and women. For West, hegemonic heteronormative discourses produce situations where someone may have sex for the first time while quite young because 'everyone else is doing it', or have sex with their spouse because it is considered a 'normal' part of married life. Unlike McKinnon, West suggests that these cases, where the coercive force is social rather than interpersonal, are consensual and argues that researchers should begin to examine the "harms of consensual sex". For West, whether or not sex is consensual hinges on the interpersonal relationship, and not on broader social forces that impact our sexual behaviour.

If we accept a definition of consent that stresses that consent must be free from coercion (similar to Muehlenhard's, 1996) then the scenarios that West (2002) discusses could arguably be labeled non-consensual, although they differ from sex resulting from the direct pressure and coercion from a "partner". Gavey (1997) distinguishes between social coercion and interpersonal coercion. Social coercion comes from dominant heteronormative discourses that impact each of us. For example "compulsory heterosexuality" may influence (or coerce) a man

to have sex with a woman even though he is only attracted to other men. Interpersonal coercion, takes place when one person coerces another into having sex. Both types of sex are coerced, both present issues related to consent and both create harm; the difference between them is related to the whether or not an "offender" can be identified and punished by the legal system.

MacKinnon's (1989) recognition of some of the social forces impacting consent and Gavey's (1997) argument that social forces represent a type of coercion similar to interpersonal coercion (although distinct from it) begin to contextualize consent and problematize the boundaries of consent. In so doing, they open space for a more complex understanding of consent. Through these views, it is possible to begin questioning why people might consent to particular types of sex, or sex with particular people. Consent becomes something broader than just a 'yes' to sex with a specific person, in a particular place, at a particular time. Consent becomes a negotiation of social expectations, a way of expressing a social identity, or of fitting in to a certain social world. This creates possibilities for recognizing sexual practices that, while remaining socially problematic, are simultaneously neither consensual nor criminal or violent.

The Nature of Consent.

Not all scholars focusing on sexual consent are concerned with distinguishing consensual sexual experiences from non-consensual ones. Some of the debate around sexual consent is concerned with whether or not consent is a psychological act (where the importance is placed on the individual's thought process and inner desires), or a physical act (where the emphasis is placed on

the behavioural act signifying agreement; Muehlenhard, 1996). Many scholars place greater emphasis on the behavioural nature of sexual consent. Ostler (2003) implies that consent can be read by a woman's actions when he suggests that certain behaviours are "probative" of consent (regardless of a woman's intentions). Archard (1998) suggests that "consent is an act rather than a state of mind" (p.4), and Wertheimer (1996) views consent as "performative rather than attitudinal" (p.94). If we accept a behavioural version of sexual consent, then we require information or standards about the specific behaviours that indicate consent. Sherwin (1996) argues for an "objective" definition of consent that "is a legal standard establishing a conventional means for refusing sex" (p. 230-231). Thus we would require a list of behaviours that indicate consent or as Sherwin suggests a list of behaviours that demonstrate non-consent.

I can see that the creation of such a definition can appear attractive from a legal position—a list of definitive consent behaviours (or non-consent behaviours) would make the decisions of judges and juries simpler. However, this type of list over-simplifies sexual relations. Communicating "consent" is likely more complex and nuanced than can be adequately captured by a standardized list of behaviours and risks labeling harmful and violent experiences as consensual. For example, returning to an example raised earlier, should a woman's pleas that her knife-wielding attacker wear a condom be seen as a behaviour that would indicate consent in law? She had begged her attacker to use a condom to protect herself against HIV. However, this action was taken as a sign of her consent, resulting in an acquittal (McGregor, 1996). While asking for a condom

may be indicative of consent in certain contexts, it cannot be taken as a universal declaration of consent. Thus, we need to contextualize actions and words in order to understand their meaning, and their potential to communicate consent.

Additionally, this type of list can inhibit the freedom of people to express consent in non-conventional ways. For example, during sadism and masochism (S&M) many activities might take place that appear to be against someone's will. One partner might scream no, or even fight back. However, "consent" to S&M is often quite explicit with the use of a "safe word" in the event that the activity has gone past one person's comfort level. In this context screaming "no" might not be unusual, and might not be an indication that the activity in unwanted. This form of "consensual" activity may be improperly labeled as rape, with the use of a standardized definition of consent (or non-consent).

Due to the many problems with a behavioural definition of consent, some legal theorists view consent as a primarily mental act or attitude, independent of the expression of that attitude. Hurd (1996) argues that "to consent to sexual intercourse, a victim must have sexual penetration by the defendant as her conscious object". She suggests that we abandon the behavioural notion of consent for one that focuses entirely on the respondent's intent to engage in sexual activity with the person who initiated it, under the specified conditions. The problem with a definition based entirely on one's attitude toward the sexual activity is that there appears to be no way for the initiating partner to receive feedback regarding whether or not the sexual activity is consensual (Muehlenhard, 1996). Additionally, Kazan (1998) argues that an attitudinal

representation of sexual consent opens up room to scrutinize the behaviour and "intentions" of the victim during a trial. Determining the victim's attitude toward sex requires the victim to answer questions regarding their "state of mind" and risks inviting scrutiny of their actions and sexual history on the stand. Kazan argues this has happened too often and in order to protect the sexual history of the victim, we must adopt a definition of consent that is at least partially based on behaviour to provide other means of determining the presence or absence of consent.

It is largely for this reason that many researchers who favour the attitudinal representation of sexual consent still add a behavioural component to their conceptualizations. Dripps (1996) argues that sexual consent is not exclusively a psychological state, but that it also includes some conduct that is presumed to provide evidence of a psychological state. Likewise Hickman and Muehlenhard (1999), define consent as the "the communication of a feeling of willingness", and Malm (1996) views consent as the "signification of a particular mental state through the performance of a conventionally recognized act."

Alexander (1996) addresses the problem of attitudinal conceptualizations of consent in a different way. He defines consent as the "intentional state of the person", and sees the victim's responses to the defendant's threats as good indicators of whether or not consent is present, but not "what consent consists of". This conceptualization, while defining consent as a purely mental state, provides a space for the physical behaviours. By keeping these issues separate and recognizing that the physical behaviours and cues that may take place

during sexual activity are not consent in and of themselves, but may reflect the inner intentions of the individual, he begins to disentangle the complexities of consent. Since consent does not consist of the behaviours, it is not possible to draw up a list of consenting behaviours, and it is recognized that different behaviours can have different meanings in different contexts. Thus, it allows for the victim's subjective experience to be recognized while understanding how the behaviours were indicative of his or her intentions within the context. This does not eliminate Kazan's (1998) concern regarding scrutinizing the victim's intentions, although it allows more space for understanding context influences consent to sex.

Moral Transformation.

In addition to arguments regarding the physical versus mental nature of consent there is another way that some scholars describe sexual consent: as an agent of moral transformation. In other words, does consent turn an otherwise objectionable and illegal activity into an acceptable and potentially enjoyable activity? Hurd (1996) argues that it does and refers to this as the "moral magic of consent". Archard (1998) agrees with Hurd that consent displays a certain "moral magic in the way that it can suddenly make an otherwise wrong action right" (p.3). Wertheimer (2003) suggests that it is not a matter of defining what consent "is", but of determining "under which conditions consent is morally transformative in a relevant way" (p.119; emphasis in original). Through the use of "moral transformation" Archard and Wertheimer argue that consent is like a contract where B's consent renders A's actions moral, legal and permissible.

Consent then also places obligations on the "consenter" to fulfill their commitment and follow through with the consented to activity (Archard, 1998). Archard draws a comparison to lending a friend his car. By consenting to his friend using his car he is obligated to take steps to facilitate that agreement by giving her keys and making the car available. Therefore in a sexual situation Archard argues that once a person has consented they are under obligation to enable the activity consented to. However he also points out that if a woman (sic) changes her mind (especially because the activity is not what she intended on consenting to, or because of pain) then her partner is under a moral obligation to stop the sexual activity.

I argue that the morally transformative conceptualization takes a decisively pessimistic and negative view of sexual relations. Through this perspective it is assumed that all sexual activities begin as morally problematic and coercive. To begin with the assumption that sex is "bad", unless it is made "good", is to place everyone in the position of potentially perpetrating a sexual offence and becoming a criminal, when violent sex makes up the minority of sexual activity. Consent, while important, does not transform a morally problematic activity into a morally acceptable one. Between consenting people, it can communicate the willingness to participate in sexual activity with one another at a specific time and place; there is no moral objection to the sexual activity between them.

In addition, it is not clear whose morals are being transformed through consent. Archard (1998) suggests that the common moral view is that "whatever people do as 'consenting adults' should be allowed, even if the rest of us find a

particular practice disgusting or shocking" (p.1). However, there are many adults who believe that the only "moral" sexual activity is that between a wife and a husband. With this understanding of sexual morals, a wedding ceremony would have to take place before any sex could be "morally transformed".

Communicative sexuality

While many scholars argue for various representations of how "consent" operates in normative (and predominantly heterosexual) relationships, a few theorists advocate for a change in the way consent is conceptualized. Remick (1992/93) argues for a legal definition of sexual consent as a verbal agreement to participate in sexual activity. Pineau (1989) also argues for a deliberate version of consent she refers to as communicative sexuality. Communicative sexuality assumes that people communicate their willingness to participate in sexual activity with one another. Ideally this communication would be verbal, although it does not need to be. Pineau argued that this view of consent removes the responsibility from women who must show that they adequately resisted the sexual activity on to men to demonstrate that they obtained women's consent.

Antioch College adopted a sexual consent policy similar to the model that Pineau (1989) suggested. The consent policy requires members of the campus community to verbally ask permission for each type of sexual activity, and also requires a positive verbal response in order for consent to be given (Antioch College, 2006). This policy is viewed as inconsistent with the progression of sexual activity according to students in Humphreys and Herold's (2003) study. Most students said that they would not endorse a similar policy on their campus

because it was unrealistic and hard to implement and enforce. Giving or asking verbally for consent is viewed as incompatible with the way sex is believed to take place, because it is seen as lacking romance and spontaneity (Humphreys & Herold). In addition, Schulhofer (1998) suggests that the social change required to implement this type of communicative sexuality would take too long, and leave women at risk throughout the process of change.

It may be possible that a communicative model of sexuality does not call for a complete metamorphosis of sexual behaviour as perceived by Humphreys and Herold's respondents. Throughout my interviews it became apparent that YAJs are able to articulate many subtle nonverbal cues that they use to demonstrate consent and interpret their partner's consent. Pineau (1996) makes it clear that a verbal negotiation is not required, only that there are cues that communicate consent. These cues and behaviours may be embedded in the ways in which people already engage in sexual behaviour. Pineau gave an example:

> "If you undo one of my buttons, and I help with the rest, you may presume that I am happy to get undressed. If you undo my button, and I try to do it back up again or clutch at the gap created, then should presume the opposite." (p.97)

Pineau (1996) referred to the switch to a communicative model of sexuality as a paradigm switch. She assumes that this shift requires not only a radical shift in the way we think about consent, but also a shift in the way that we engage in sex. I am not convinced that a move toward communicative sexuality requires such a large shift. In order to determine consent, attention is often placed on whether or not, or to what degree a woman resisted, or demonstrated

her lack of consent. A shift to communicative sexuality changes the questions. It does not require that a woman prove she did not consent, but instead asks what happened to show and demonstrate consent. This opens spaces to interrogate the ways that women and men are already communicating a willingness to participate in sexual relations. Rather than assuming that this communication does not already take place, (so we must legislate it), we can start by assuming that there is some communication there and begin interrogating it.

Kitzinger and Frith (1999) examine sexual refusals in this way. They argue that men and women have demonstrated competency at communicating refusals for a variety of social invitations, and therefore "for men to lay claim that they do not 'understand' [sexual] refusals is to lay claim to an astounding and implausible ignorance of normative conversational patterns" (p. 310). O'Byrne, Rapley, & Hansen (2006) build on Kitzinger and Frith's argument and demonstrate that the men in their study understand normative refusal mechanisms and "articulated to 'hear' women's refusals" (p.149). This work is an important beginning toward understanding normative communication patterns during sexual activity. I drive these arguments further by focusing not only how women and men refuse sex, but also how they "say yes" to sexual relations.

Consent attitudes and behaviours

A few researchers have examined sexual consent behaviours and attempted to identify ways that consent is communicated. There have been four reported studies on sexual consent behaviours (Hall 1998; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Humphreys, 2005; Beres, Herold & Maitland, 2004). All four

studies suggest that nonverbal behaviours are used more frequently than verbal behaviours to communicate consent. Hall's findings suggest that consent for heterosexual sex is implicit for many types of sexual activities, but is more likely to be communicated explicitly for oral sex, sexual intercourse and the initiating sexual behaviour (e.g., kissing). Hickman and Muhlenhard, and Beres et al. used data reduction techniques (principle components analysis and factor analysis, respectively) to determine the different types of behaviours used to indicate consent. Both groups asked participants to rate certain behaviours on the frequency that they use them to ask for and indicate consent to their partner. The types of behaviours used to indicate sexual consent (as defined by the studies) included direct and indirect verbal and nonverbal cues, no response, the removal of clothing, and intoxication.

These studies are an important first step in understanding how consent is communicated. They are also useful for confirming that consent is often negotiated nonverbally and indirectly. However, the findings from the existing studies mostly void of context. It is not understood when during sexual activity consent to sex is communicated (or if it is a continual process), or in what order behaviours are used. Nor is there any information on the number of behaviours required to perceive that consent has been communicated. For example, it is hard to believe that intoxication can be a signal of consent. Understanding the context that the respondents were considering when answering this question may help qualify the results.

Humphreys (2004) began to contextualize the communication of consent. He suggests that consent is more likely to be verbal the first time two people engage in sexual intercourse together, although consent for one-night-stands tends to be implied until one partner says "no". In addition, he suggests that women view consent as a process that occurs throughout sexual activity while men are more likely to consider it an event; consent is given at one point during the sexual activity.

In addition to the lack of contextual information, the studies presume that consent is separated into initiating and responding behaviours (Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Beres et al. 2004). Both studies asked questions separately for behaviours used when participants initiated sexual activity, and for times when they responded to a partner's initiation. This division is reminiscent of the gender roles in the normative sexual script and constructs a version of consent whereby one partner requests consent from the other partner who "gives" consent. These studies do not take into consideration mutually initiated sexual activity, or the possibility that it may be possible for the initiator role to change during sexual activity. For example, one person may initiate kissing, then the other initiates genital touching, or the removal of clothing. In this way both partners are giving consent to participate in the sexual activity, and both are involved in beginning new types of activities.

Although he begins to contextualize sexual consent Humphreys' study remains embedded within the discourse of sexual consent, he uses the language of sexual consent throughout his survey and focus groups with students. Thus, it

is not surprising that the students found communicating consent "awkward" and not something they talk about with their friends. In order to begin tapping into the complexities of sexual negotiations and consent, I interrogate the concept of willingness to participate in sexual activity in addition to consent. This provides greater understanding for how young adults negotiate their casual sex experiences and how consent fits into these experiences. This study uses participant observation and interviews with YAJs to gain an in-depth understanding of their perceptions of the ways they communicate willingness to engage in casual sex and some of the norms and conventions of heterosexual casual sex in a small resort location.

Concluding thoughts and looking ahead

In this chapter I reviewed and analyzed many different conceptualizations of consent. Consent is a concept that is often taken up "spontaneously" by researchers and scholars. Unfortunately, many scholars fail to define consent explicitly through their work (eg. Ostler, 2003) forcing the readers to rely on assumed definitions. Others define consent, but there are many varied definitions. Some describe consent (implicitly or explicitly) using a version of the "any yes" definition—that consent is present even when someone acquiesces as a result of coercion or force (eg. Sherwin, 1996; Dripps, 1992). Other scholars suggest that consent by definition can only be given free from coercive forces (eg. Hall, 1998; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999). However, even if an agreement were to be reached regarding whether or not coercive forces negate consent, it is not clear which types of coercive forces "count". West (2002) and MacKinnon

(1982) call attention to social forces that influence and arguable "coerce" people into engaging in sexual activity they may not want.

Some scholars attempt to disentangle consent as either a physical action (Ostler, 2003; Archard, 1998) or a mental action (Hurd, 1996), and many suggest that consent is a combination of both (Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Dripps, 1996; Malm, 1996), or a physical manifestation of a mental willingness (Alexander, 1996). Yet others view consent as an agent of moral transformation (Archard, 1998; Wertheimer, 2003), an act that turns an illegal and morally objectionable activity into a potentially pleasurable and morally permissible activity. Pineau (1989; 1996) argues that current understandings of consent are not working and thus we should adopt a communicative model of sexuality so that consent becomes explicit and more easily identifiable. Finally, a few researchers have begun to examine the ways that people consent to sex by investigating the types of behaviours considered indicative of consent.

Much of this work lacks an understanding of how dominant heterosexual discourses impact the understanding and communication of consent and is thus one of the major foci of this project. I interrogate the ways that people express (or do not express) their willingness to engage in sexual activity, and how they interpret their partner's willingness.

Through the examination of "consensual" sex, I further our understanding of sexual consent and sexual violence by outlining the ways that YAJs construct consent as a concept bound with constructions of sexual violence. I began this project with the assumption that it may be possible to find out ways that consent

is communicated and that a communicative model of sex may already exist. The majority of sexual activity is probably "consensual" (although shaped by dominant heteronormative discourses and not free from power). This is likely not accidental and indicates that sexual partners are communicating at least some of their desires and feelings about sex with one another. Through this work I highlight ways that YAJs understand their partners' willingness and argue that they already use a version of "communicative sexuality".

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

Purpose and overview of study and methodology

The purpose of this research project is to inquire into ways that young adults in Jasper (YAJs) construct consent to heterosexual casual sex. Few studies have examined the ways that people negotiate and have ethical and consensual sex. Due to the lack of research in this area, I chose to conduct this project using qualitative research methods. Qualitative research is an ideal choice as it provides the flexibility to allow the participants to shape their own responses to my questions and in turn suggest further questions for inquiry. This methodology also provides the necessary structure to achieve a depth of understanding not possible with quantitative approaches.

Qualitative methodology is a diverse field including many different methods and philosophies. For this project, I used a combination of grounded theory and discourse analysis. Grounded theory provides the methodological frame for the study and data generation because it is well suited to the development of theory in new areas and because it is also well oriented to the study of social processes. Also I use discourse analysis to understand the ways that young adults construct sexual consent and negotiate casual sex.

Grounded theory

The purpose of grounded theory is to develop mid-range theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2003). Theory development is inductive: researchers study an area where there is little known in an attempt to "discover" and

understand the phenomenon. Data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously and iteratively so that interviews in the later stages of data collection can be informed by the analysis of the earlier interviews. This process allows the researcher to gain some added depth in the data collection process and to inquire into issues that may otherwise be missed. Grounded theory also employs a variety of data collection strategies to gain a deeper understanding of the diverse perspectives of the phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss; Charmaz).

Grounded theory provides a good basis for this study. Since little is currently understood about consent and how it is communicated, grounded theory is ideal considering the focus of developing theory from "the ground up". In addition, in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of issues related to consent, multiple data collection strategies and sources are ideal. For the current study I used in-depth unstructured interviews with young adults engaging in casual sex, with people working in local bars, and with workers of local organizations working with YAJs to reduce harm associated with casual sex (sexually transmitted infections [STIs] and pregnancy). I also conducted participant observation by participating in the social activities of YAJs.

This study departs from traditional grounded theory in several ways. First, one of the criticisms of grounded theory is that it has remained embedded within a post-positivist perspective, and as such makes truth claims reflecting a single view of reality and encourages researchers to strive for objectivity (Charmaz, 2000). Similar to Charmaz, I approached grounded theory with a constructionist perspective by assuming multiple social realities. My goal was not to produce a

singular truth or understanding of consent, but to propose a series of different types of consent processes and understandings of consent. I recognize the likelihood of hearing about ambiguous, complex and often contradictory notions of consent, and negotiations of casual sex.

Second, grounded theory stresses that data collection and analysis should occur iteratively, so that the analysis of earlier interviews can inform subsequent interviews. This was not entirely possible due to the nature of the study. In Jasper the high tourist season is from the end of May to the beginning of September, and this is when the majority of seasonal workers (SWs) were in town. Thus I had a short time period in which to collect data and it was not possible to complete analysis of one interview prior to conducting subsequent interviews. To compensate and benefit from the iterative stages of data collection and analysis I listened to my interviews after they were finished and took notes regarding ideas that emerged throughout the interview and added topics and questions to discuss in later interviews.

Third, one of the trademarks of grounded theory is the emphasis on theoretical sampling, in which the researcher uses the developing theory to decide how and where to collect data (Charmaz, 2000). This strategy may mean looking for people with particular experiences in an attempt to address an issue that is puzzling or to interview a participant again to inquire about issues that were missed initially or to clarify aspects of the first interview. While I attempted to use theoretical sampling methods, conditions of the field necessitated using forms of snowball sampling and convenience sampling. I also interviewed three

participants more than once to clarify their original interviews and to ask them questions that arose from their first interviews and interviews with others. My original intention was to interview SWs only. However, once I arrived and began talking with LJs as well as SWs it became clear that many LJs engage in casual sex with SWs and they also had a unique perspective on the town and therefore I interviewed both SWs and LJs.

Fourth, my approach to analysis followed some of the principles of grounded theory while also incorporating a discourse analytic approach. Analysis in grounded theory is marked by constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The researcher is concerned with comparing the data in multiple ways, including comparing different participants, comparing what one participant said in one part of their interview to something they said later, comparing categories developed by the researcher in the coding process, and comparing data and coding with results already published. The principle of constant comparison was used to guide the analysis process allowing for the recognition of often-contradictory ways of understanding consent and willingness to participate in heterosexual casual sex. However, my analysis was also strongly guided by principles of discourse analysis because I was interested in how participants construct consent and casual sex negotiations.

Discourse Analysis

Typical grounded theory analysis approaches the words and language of participants as a description of their thoughts, ideas, and life events. What participants say is viewed as a description of their version of reality. My approach

to the data was different from typical grounded theory analysis, in that I approached the data from a perspective of discourse analysis.

Using a discourse analysis approach, I viewed language as productive—a tool used to construct social realities (Willig, 2003). The focus was not only on what is being said, but on how language is used to construct life events, and how participants are deploying various subject positions through their speech. Discourses are viewed as social productions and are not limited to individual's thoughts and ideas (Gavey, 2005; Willig, 2003). Discourses open spaces for certain types of action and limit others: spaces for power and action are opened up, or closed down (Gavey, 2005).

I read participants' stories and interviews in a couple of different ways. First, I read them as a description of the events in their lives and as representing their thoughts and opinions. In Chapter Four I use this approach to describe the social life of YAJs and in Chapter Five I use it to describe ways that YAJs hook up for casual sex. Second, I read participants' stories for the language that they use to construct the negotiation of casual sex, their partner's willingness to participate in casual sex and sexual consent. I use this approach throughout Chapters Six and Seven. Gender is central to my analysis. In particular I am interested in the subject positions that men and women adopt and how they negotiate issues of power while discussing their casual sex experiences. For example I am interested in how YAJs use heteronormative discourses similar to the ones described by Hollway (1984a) or, if they position themselves within different discourses, so how and which ones.

Design overview

In order to develop a thorough understanding of consent to heterosexual casual sex, including many contextual influences, I spent two months of the summer in Jasper, Alberta. Jasper is a small resort community about four hours west of Edmonton. Due to the large number of tourists visiting the area in the summer, Jasper is temporary home to several thousand young adults who work in the tourist industry. Thus, Jasper is a town with a large number of young people living in close proximity, with reportedly high rates of casual sex (Burrows & Olsen, 1998). This demographic provided me with the opportunity to get to know the community and to watch seasonal workers interact. It also meant that I would likely run into the same people many times throughout the summer; building rapport with SWs and increasing the likelihood that people would be willing to talk with me about their sexual lives.

While in Jasper I conducted participant observation and in-depth interviews with young adults. Most of these adults were seasonal workers–that is, they were living in Jasper for the summer. However, I also interviewed people who grew up in the town and who had lived there for several years.

Participant observation

Participant observation can mean many different things, and can result in many different research activities. Participant observation is sometimes described as a continuum. At one end of the continuum is the complete observer, in which the researcher simply observes what is happening in the field but does not participate. At the other end of the continuum is the complete

participant, where the researcher participates fully in all aspects of the setting (Bailey, 1996). While constructing participant observation activities on a continuum can be useful, it is unlikely any researcher's activities can be located at a fixed point on this continuum. Separating the roles of participant and observer can sometimes be difficult. For example, a few of my participants mentioned that one reason they like going to the bar is to "people watch", in this case, observing is also participating. In addition, activities shift and change and the level of participation may ebb and flow throughout the research process. I participated in many aspects of the social lives of YAJ while conducting my observations. However I did not live or work with YAJs and I did not participate in casual sex.

I lived in Jasper for two months during the summer during two separate periods; the first one from mid-May to late June and the second from mid-July to mid-August. During this time I integrated with the social networks of YAJs, and spent time in venues associated with finding partners for casual sex. I engaged in many social activities with YAJs including going to the bar, dancing, drinking (albeit considerably less than most YAJs), going to the beach, and occasionally hiking or biking. During these activities I observed YAJs behaviours, especially those that seemed to lead toward sexual activity and I talked with them about their experiences in Jasper. Many times these conversations included stories about the casual sex (usually of other people). I recorded these observations in the form of field notes. Thus, while I was able to observe flirting behaviours, dancing, "making out" and kissing, I did not directly observe or experience casual

sex.

Field notes. After interviews, or spending time socializing with YAJs I would write field notes. I wrote about my impressions of the day, how I felt about the interviews, recounted stories I'd heard in casual conversations and observations from social activities. In addition, these field notes included analytical thoughts and ideas, questions that came up in the course of the day or possibilities for analysis and writing.

Gaining entry. The participant observation stages of the research presented unique challenges, discoveries and dilemmas, including gaining entry into the social networks of YAJs. My original plan was to conduct my fieldwork in Banff, Alberta, which is larger and better known as a tourist destination than Jasper. The decision to change locations happened after I received positive and enthusiastic responses to my study from several community organizations in Jasper. The first organization I contacted was Community Outreach Services (COS). They provide a broad range of services and support to all members of the Jasper community including SWs. COS referred me to HIV West Yellowhead (HWY)[5], an HIV/AIDS organization located in Jasper that supports Jasper and surrounding communities. Most of their programs are targeted to the YAJs, including SWs, with a major goal of reducing HIV and STI rates among youth in Jasper. Lofland & Lofland (1995) suggested that gaining entry to a research site is facilitated by connections in that research location. Since I made a connection

[5] Both COS and HWY have granted permission for me to use their actual names in my thesis and to discuss their organizations.

to a community organization in Jasper, I changed the site of my research. This proved to be an important decision that positively affected gaining entry to the community.

The staff of HWY facilitated my entry into various social networks in Jasper. Several members of the staff agreed to be interviewed and talked about their experiences working with youth in Jasper. They invited me out to parties and to the bar. This entry point proved to be invaluable. The YAJs (and SWs in particular) tend to stick to themselves. It quickly became easy for them to identify tourists versus other workers, and for the most part, they do not socialize with tourists. Without this initial introduction and contact, becoming accepted as part of the group would have been much more difficult.

Going into the research setting I knew it would be important to develop rapport with potential participants, especially considering that casual sex is such an intimate and personal topic. Sheila Gallagher (1997) reported many difficulties in recruiting SWs for her study on health and risk among SWs in Jasper. She found it difficult to contact them because they had limited or no phone access and were not interested in participating in research during their time off work. She was not in Jasper for a prolonged length of time and did not integrate with SWs. Considering Gallagher's reported difficulties in recruiting, I correctly assumed that many workers would be reluctant to spend their free time talking with me. They would rather be spending their time off work socializing with friends, hiking, biking or climbing or participating in some other activity brought about by living in the mountains. Thus, I planned on participating in

social activities with SWs to get to know them and talk with them about casual sex. I envisioned myself with a plethora of hiking partners, discussing the intricacies of hooking up and heterosex in Jasper while trudging up the picturesque mountain slopes. I assumed that these young workers were drawn to the mountains for the same reason I am—the sports and activities. It quickly became clear that I was mistaken. The majority of seasonal workers are there for the social life of drinking and going to the bar—not the tranquil mountain adventures. Mountain sports are more the realm of the LJs and tourists. Thus rather than having conversations while hiking up slopes, I had conversations predominantly in local bars and occasionally pubs.

Overall, entry into the field was successful. However, there were still some barriers to entry and I struggled with recruitment a few of times during my stay in Jasper. Prior to entering the field I contemplated working in Jasper at one of the local businesses. Employment would have provided me with greater access to YAJs and have helped to establish rapport. Most YAJs socialize with other people they work with, so it would have provided an ideal place to build relationships. However, most businesses require staff to work full time hours. This committment would have made it difficult to schedule interviews, to participate in social activities and to find time to work with data.

Living with SWs would have also facilitated further entry into the lives of YAJs. It may have been possible for me to share an apartment with SWs, which would have also provided me with stronger connections to some SWs and their social networks. Instead I chose to live with a woman who ran a bed and

breakfast. This space provided me with a break from the active social lives of YAJs and space to write my field notes.

Living and working among YAJs would have provided more opportunities to develop rapport and to participate in their social activities, including more opportunities to observe and hear stories about their casual sex experiences. However living with SWs would have also presented potential issues related to security of data and the anonymity of my participants. It was useful for me to have a secured room of my own where I knew I could write field notes without interruption and where I could ensure the security of my data. Overall, I felt that it was important for me to have the space and time to write field notes, relax, and work with data away from YAJs.

My social location. Throughout my time in Jasper I was aware of the way I identified as a researcher, a woman, a feminist, and a spouse and how these affected my research and the way that I was perceived by YAJs. Each of these identities acted as both facilitator and barrier to research activities and influenced data generation.

My status as a woman impacted my interactions with women and men during my field research, including during participant observation and interviews. In general, I was able to use that trait to my advantage in gaining access to data and encouraging people to open up to me. During interviews I was able to identify with other female participants and there was a sense of trust and safety in our interactions. They shared many personal experiences with me, including

their experiences of sexual violence. Several interviews felt like friends going for coffee and discussing their sexual lives.

While women were quite open with me in interviews, I did not have a lot of access to women in bars. Generally, women did not want to talk with other women they did not know in bars. In some ways I think they may have viewed talking to me as a waste of time because they were there to spend time with their friends and to meet men. At the same time there may have been a sense of competition between women because the assumption is that we are all there to meet men, regardless of whether or not we are looking for casual sex. Women who were not looking to meet men were most often in groups of other women that did not interact with other groups of women. My behaviour was also somewhat suspicious because I was often by myself and several participants told me that when they see a woman by herself it means that she is looking for sex.

My interactions with men in bars were much easier. Men would often come up to me and start talking. When they found out what I was doing in Jasper, they would often tell me stories and point things out to me. In these instances, I was able to portray myself as the naïve (female) researcher and they were willing to share with me their ideas about casual sex and "hooking up" in bars; several of these conversations led to interviews. The conversations had a relaxed and informal feel.

I was concerned that interviewing men would be more difficult. I was aware of the reputation of "locker room" talk and assumed I would not be privy to the ways that men talk about sex. It is quite likely that the male participants would

have talked quite differently to another man, but several men mentioned to me during the interview that they felt like they were talking to "one of the guys" (perhaps because I was not considered a potential "hook up"). In addition, it was expected that I would not know a lot about what men think and say about casual sex so they were willing to explain things to me. This assumption provided more depth in the interviews. Overall, many men seemed more willing to talk with me about casual sex than women. Some seemed almost proud that they had these experiences they could talk to me about and "teach" me about casual sex dynamics.

In general, while being a woman impacted my research, I believe that it helped me gain access to what men and women had to say. With women I was able to relate to their experiences and create a safe space to talk. With men I was open to listening to what they said, and allowed them to come across as the "expert".

There were several occasions in which my connection with feminist anti-sexual violence activism collided with my desire as a researcher to understand the views and opinions of the people (particularly the men) I was interviewing. It was difficult for me to hear the way that some men spoke about casual sex and women. For example, some men talked about "getting some ass", or called women whores and sluts[6]. One man articulated quite clearly how he would get

[6] Women also occasionally called other women and men sluts or whores, or said that they felt like sluts when they engaged in certain behaviours. While I was also bothered by these comments, I did not react as strongly when women used these words compared with men.

women to have casual sex with him. To me, he seemed to know how to manipulate women to get what he wanted.

The feminist in me felt a need to challenge these ideas because by staying silent, I felt that I would be condoning their attitudes and behaviours. However, the interview setting was not the time for me to challenge these particular men. I felt that by choosing to stay silent and attempting to understand what they were saying I would be in a better position to analyze and deconstruct the language used to talk about women and casual sex. This strategy would create potential to contribute to larger movements for social change and have greater impact than by challenging those few men.

Upon entry into the field, I was concerned that my marital status might negatively impact the research. Since I am married, I thought that this status might be a barrier to developing rapport with participants. In the end, I think it was a helpful trait. Regardless of my marital status, I believe I would have been able to develop rapport and socialize with people in bars, party and dance. My marital status enabled me to do this without the expectation that I would hook up with someone or have sex with anyone.

On several occasions men expressed interest in "hooking up". I never used my marital status as an excuse but some people would ask and others who knew my marital status would inform men. Because I am married I had an easy way to refuse sexual activity while preserving a friendly relationship and, at the same time, encouraging them to continue talking with me. The men did not lose face because from their perspective I was not rejecting them because I was not

interested in them: I was "not allowed" to have sex with them because I am married. There were men (including an interviewee) that I turned down and who were not aware of my marital status. These men took the rejection much more personally and it resulted in no more contact with these individuals.

While I was fortunate to be young enough to fit in with this group, gaining entry was more challenging that I anticipated. Even during my younger years I was not a partier or heavy drinker. So, it was an environment and an attitude that I found hard to relate to at times. I was worried that I would be "found out" as someone who does not enjoy sitting around drinking or going to the bar.

Gradually, I started spending more and more time in the local bars. I got to know a few people who went to the bar on a regular basis so that I would have people to talk with while I was in the bars observing and getting to know the scene.

Considering that the topic of casual sex is deeply personal, I felt that it was important to integrate with the group as much as possible, while maintaining a sense of professionalism. This can be tricky considering that bars and parties are not known to be rife with professionalism. I was acutely aware of my behaviour when I went to bars.

When I entered the bar I would often get a drink. It was clear when I arrived that drinking was an integral part of living in Jasper for the young people. Most people went out for a few drinks after they finished work. Considering that no one had a car or any need to drive home (since anywhere in Jasper is within easy walking distance or a cheap cab ride), drinking was expected. I felt that

abstaining from alcohol could be interpreted as suspicious by some of the young people. I decided that one drink would not overly impair my observational skills, so I would buy a drink at the beginning of the night and nurse it for the duration of the evening.

As a result of the amount of time I spent time in local bars, I began to develop a reputation as someone who enjoyed going to the bar, drinking and dancing. I did not anticipate this shift. I saw myself as a researcher first and foremost, but many of the YAJs saw me predominantly as someone who enjoyed a good night out at the bar. This attitude surprised me considering that they were aware of my researcher status and that I only had one drink over the course of an evening. I expected that my researcher status might encourage many people to censor what they were saying when I was around. I was pleasantly surprised by the candor of some of their discussions, although at times it became clear that to them I was first a person who partied and secondly, someone who was doing a research project.

Toward the end of the summer, I interviewed a woman who I had become acquainted with through parties at the bars and other events. During the interview I was asking many questions about hooking up and the bar scene. At one point, she told me that I should really start paying attention to this sort of behaviour while I am at the bar. I was shocked and my first thought was "what do you think I've been doing for the last 6 weeks?" I received similar comments on other occasions. Toward the end of the summer constantly going to the bar was getting tiring and I was feeling like I had a fair amount of data so my energies

shifted to other activities in preparation for going home. Thus, I did not go out as often. Several people were disappointed and wondered if I was ill or if something was wrong. From their perspective I was someone who went to the bar a lot and enjoyed the bar scene, so something must be wrong for me to stay home. While I found this surprising and a little jarring because it was clear that they did not know the "real" me, it was evidence that suggested that I was accepted among the group of YAJs and that they valued my participation in the social gatherings.

I was not the first 'researcher' to go to Jasper in the summer. After introducing myself as a research a few people said things like "oh, so you're the researcher this summer". The perception (at least by people who have been there for a number of years), was that Jasper was a popular place to conduct research because it is a fun place to spend the summer. Many people commented that I got a "pretty good gig". I managed to convince "the university" to pay for me to spend a summer in Jasper, relaxing, drinking, going to the bar, and enjoying the mountain air. Their perception was that I was "scamming" the university so I could spend a summer in Jasper without getting a job. Kristin Lozanski, a fellow graduate student and colleague, (2006, personal communication) referred to this as "research as a scam".

I was not perceived as "a researcher", but rather as someone who went to Jasper to party and happened to be doing a little research on the side. This perception was useful to me as it enabled me to get into the scene and become accepted as part of the group. However, at times I questioned the ethics of writing my observations of the evening events in my notes. While I had not

breached my ethics proposal as approved by the review board, it seemed at times as though I really did not have informed consent. I do not think that many people thought that I would be interested in writing down what they had to say or things that they did.

The participant observation portion of the research project was an invaluable way for me to gain insight and understanding into the lives of YAJs. This portion of the fieldwork provided a context for understanding my interviews and the ways that participants talked about their experiences in Jasper and casual sex. It also allowed me to develop my own ideas about Jasper, SWs and the "culture" of casual sex. These ideas were informed by what participants told me and my observations. In turn, it is likely that I influenced the views of a few participants by asking questions of them that prompted them to think about issues in a new light.

Interviews

I conducted 24 interviews with 21 YAJs. I used a variety of strategies to recruit participants including placing posters around town, handing out flyers talking about my research at staff orientations and other events throughout the summer, approaching staff at the local bars, snowball sampling and referrals from people I knew. Due to the positive relationship with HWY, many of the participants were recruited either directly or indirectly through the organization. Three participants were staff members of HWY, five were volunteers with HWY, five were friends of volunteers or staff, five were other contacts I made in Jasper

and three were cold calls I received from posters. In sum, 13 participants were either directly or indirectly affiliated with HWY.

Eleven women and ten men participated in interviews. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 31, although most participants were between the ages of 22 and 26. Generally, the younger SWs (between the ages of 18 and 20) were less interested in participating. Many of the participants were a little older and reflected on their previous behaviour and were willing to think about consequences of their behaviour. I got the impression that the younger SWs were not interested in examining or questioning their own behaviour and were thus less likely to want to talk about their casual sex experiences.

All participants were born in Canada and were from various provinces including British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. Two participants were from Quebec and spoke predominantly French, the rest were English speaking Canadians. This sample fit closely with the YAJs overall, the majority of YAJs are young Canadians with a relatively large number coming from Quebec. However, Jasper also attracts workers from other countries, predominantly Australia and Japan. These make up a small portion of the SW population.

The transient nature of the population created interesting challenges to recruitment. SWs were more interested in being interviewed during their first couple of weeks in Jasper, earlier on in the summer. They did not know many other people and were looking for ways to fill their free time. Later in the summer recruitment was more difficult; SWs had established social networks and were

reluctant to schedule an interview. There were a few people who did not show up for a scheduled interview because the weather was good and they decided to go to the beach with their friends. Some even decided to leave town from the time the interview was arranged to the interview date. Despite these challenges, many people were willing to sit down with me to discuss their casual sex experiences.

All interviews were recorded using a digital MP3 player. Overall quality of the interviews was excellent. The interviews were unstructured and conversational style. The style of the interviews was similar to the style outlined by Hollway and Jefferson (2000). They used what they call "free association, narrative" interviews. This type of interviewing technique recognizes that the data is co-constructed by the interviewer and interviewee. The focus is on eliciting narratives that are meaningful to the participant. I asked open questions that were focused on story telling (for example, "Please tell me about your experiences while working in Jasper") and listened to the narrative. Probing questions used the language of the participant and were presented in the order that the narrative followed, preserving the flow and meaning making of the participant.

I started the interviews with broad questions about their experiences in Jasper, what drew them to Jasper, their initial impressions of Jasper and the social scene. Then I asked them to tell me a little about their dating and sexual histories so that I could choose what areas I wanted to probe further. I asked them about their experiences of casual sex, including how they chose their

partners, how they knew their partners were interested in sex, and how they demonstrated their interest in sex to their partners. After doing several interviews I added other questions, including where they learned to interpret the signals they were describing and how they defined consent. Through these open-ended conversational interviews I elicited stories related to their casual sexual experiences including their intentions prior to having sex. The interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to two and a half hours. Most interviews took between an hour and an hour and a half.

Challenges of interviewing "in the field". Considering that I was conducting the research outside of an area with a university, and thus an appropriate place to conduct interviews, one of my main concerns as I entered the field was finding a suitable place to interview participants that would protect their confidentiality and anonymity and my safety. As a result, the interviews were conducted in a variety of locations. Thanks to the tremendous support from HWY, I was able to use their office space for a number of interviews. Their office is quite small, just large enough for two desks and three computers for the three staff members to work at the same time. The director strongly encouraged me to use the office for interviews and offered to work elsewhere whenever I needed space for an interview. The availability of space was quite valuable especially in the early stages of my research. Toward the end of the summer, I was able to use a yoga loft for interviews between yoga classes.

I had a few concerns conducting interviews in the office—mainly that people would associate me with HWY and this association would change and

color the stories they told me to fit within their views of HWY. In addition, I was concerned that people would feel uncomfortable walking into an "HIV" office. When I set up interviews, I made it clear that HWY was lending me the office space, but I was not a part of their organization. I offered to meet participants either there or at an alternative location that they preferred and where I was comfortable. Most participants that were interviewed in the HWY office space did not mention the space and seemed comfortable, although there were some participants who expressed interest and surprise at many of the items in the office including condoms, female condoms, flavoured dental dams, lube and pamphlets related to many sexual and relationship health issues. In Jasper, HWY is known predominantly as the organization that hands out condoms and does not seem to have stigma as an "AIDS" organization.

While many people were willing to be interviewed in the HWY office, others preferred meeting elsewhere. As a result, I conducted interviews in coffee shops, a yoga studio, participants' apartment, bars, and even outdoors. I ensured that I was comfortable in the spaces participants chose. The two interviews I conducted in apartments were with women who I knew and who were referred by a staff member of HWY.

I did not notice a difference in the depth or tone of interviews conducted in private spaces versus public spaces. At first I was unsure about how interviews in coffee shops would go, considering that the space was public and that I could not guarantee confidentiality. However, in general the participants who chose public locations were quite willing and open to talk about their experiences in

these spaces. In some ways it seemed as though some participants felt that public locations were more anonymous than meeting in the office.

One participant in particular was quite concerned with confidentiality and anonymity. Prior to the interview he asked me many questions regarding my qualifications and training, including the ethics procedure. He made several amendments to the consent form including the removal of the statement allowing me to use direct quotes in my dissertation and any subsequent publications. As a local in Jasper, he was acutely aware of the potential for rumors and wanted to make sure that his stories did not circulate around Jasper. In light of his statements, I was shocked that he wanted to conduct in interview in one of the local pubs. I offered to use the office instead, but he said that he was more comfortable in the bar. He did not mention why, but I suspect that it could be because if people saw us talking then they would assume that we were on a date or just "out for a beer". My recording device is quite small and inconspicuous. If people saw us walking into the HWY office together they may have some questions about what he was doing and why.

During transcription of his interview I also wondered if he intentionally picked a place with high levels of background noise so it would be less likely for me to catch what he was saying verbatim. The high level of background noise also provided him with added confidentiality because it would have been difficult for anyone to overhear our conversation.

Ethical considerations

There were some important ethical concerns regarding this project, especially considering that the topic is deeply personal. Throughout my time in Jasper, I was acutely aware of my status as researcher, and made every effort to ensure that the people I interacted with were well aware of my researcher status. This was relatively easy in Jasper. Considering that my entry was facilitated by HWY, and that I was giving presentations to new workers arriving in Jasper, they were all aware of my role and purpose for being in Jasper. When meeting new people, they often asked where I worked. The assumption was that I was a SW as well, especially once I was there for a few weeks and people started to recognize me on the street. When this question came up, I always told them that I was conducting a research study on dating and sexual relationships in Jasper. Most people told me that I was in the right place to study sexual relationships. Many would tell me stories about themselves or people they knew. A few agreed to a formal interview, but many did not want to go beyond a casual conversation.

Considering that I was conducting participant observation, it was important for me ethically that people with whom I was engaging in conversation knew my purpose for being there. I talked openly about going to bars to observe. Most people assumed that I was not observing them, that instead I was there observing other people. For example, they would point out a particularly amorous couple on the dance floor or talk about people at the bar and what they were doing. For the most part people seemed comfortable with my status as researcher and it often sparked interesting conversations.

A second ethical concern stemmed from the topic of my work. While I was interested in consensual sexual experiences, I was aware of the potential for some participants (especially women) to share potentially painful stories of sexual violence. I was prepared to deal with such stories considering my volunteer and work experience at a sexual assault centre. About half the women I interviewed talked about violent or unwanted sexual experiences. For all these women except one, these experiences were in their distant past. They talked about them as part of their sexual history and to provide context for the ways that they approach sex today. One participant talked about an experience that took place three weeks prior to the interview.

Data Analysis

After conducting a few interviews in Jasper, I began transcribing, which provided an opportunity to get into my interviews to learn from them, to improve later interviews and find new questions to ask. I transcribed verbatim using a combination of voice recognition software and typing. I transcribed half of the interviews myself and hired a transcriptionist to do the remaining interviews. After all the interviews were transcribed I cleaned them by listening to the interview while reading the transcript to ensure accuracy.

Once transcription and cleaning were complete I coded the transcripts and field notes using Atlas.Ti. During the coding process, I made more notes regarding reoccurring patterns and began identifying discourses taken up by participants. Since I was predominantly interested in the discourses deployed by participants, I used the coding structure primarily as an organizing tool to find

quotes and data quickly and easily. The rest of the analysis process occurred concurrently with the writing process. After going through my data for the coding procedure, I had an idea of the major themes and ideas that I wanted to talk about and some of the discourses that participants used when they talked about casual sex. As I wrote, I looked for quotes that exemplified these themes and discourses. Then I would look through quotes for contradictory ideas or different ways of talking about willingness to engage in sex and consent. Throughout the writing process I went back and forth between the data and the writing, the data and literature. I used the constant comparative approach to ensure I was not missing significant constructions of consent and casual sex, resulting in an over-simplified picture of the data.

When I discuss themes, I refer to reoccurring ideas that explain perceptions of participants and approach their words as descriptions of events and opinions. By contrast, discourses are concerned with what the participant is accomplishing through their speech, how they position themselves in relation to other YAJs and how they construct meanings of casual sex, willingness and consent through their speech.

Conclusion

The present qualitative study is an in-depth analysis of the discourses used by YAJ to construct sexual consent and willingness to participate in casual sex as well as heterosexual casual sex. I used a combination of grounded theory and discourse analysis to elicit and identified different ways that YAJs talk about

and construct heterosexual casual sex and consent. While the field provided many challenges, it was also fruitful and I was able to generate rich data.

CHAPTER FOUR

The local social context: Jasper

To most people, Jasper is a quiet mountain community—perfect for a summer getaway hiking, biking and climbing, or a winter ski vacation. Walking around Jasper during the summer months, you see many families meandering through the local shops enjoying the surrounding mountains and wildlife that venture close to town. Many shops that line the main street are locally owned and feature locally made crafts. These shops, as well as the hotels in the area, are staffed predominantly by young adults who have made Jasper their temporary home. These young adults who live and work there see a different side to Jasper. For them, it is a place to meet new people, party, drink, and maybe engage in casual sex. It is a place free from regular life responsibilities without a parental gaze peering over their shoulder. For these reasons, it was an ideal place to go to learn about how people "hook up" and negotiate heterosexual casual sex and to understand issues related to consent to heterosexual casual sex.

In this chapter I describe the town of Jasper and how seasonal workers (SWs) interact with locals (LJs) to create the town atmosphere. I discuss the reasons that SWs are drawn to the town, and chronicle of their work and social lives. I end with a discussion of one of the more prominent community organizations (HIV West Yellowhead) and describe how their programs impact the community through their promotion of harm reduction and safe sex.

The Town

Jasper is a small resort community located in the Canadian Rockies in Jasper National Park, a World Heritage Site. Over 2.2 million people visit Jasper each year (Jasper National Park, 2006), and up to 20 000 tourists visit Jasper each day during the summer months (Jasper National Park: Major Highlights, 2006). Jasper is home to approximately 4500 permanent residents and up to 5000 seasonal workers annually (Burrows & Olsen, 1998).

Jasper townsite is located just off the Yellowhead highway (highway 16), an interprovincial highway running parallel to the TransCanada highway that covers the more Northern parts of the Western provinces. Jasper is also the major rail station for entry into the Eastern part of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. The town itself is shaped by the railway and is approximately 13 blocks wide (running parallel to the railway) and five or six blocks deep (See Appendix A for a map of Jasper). The downtown core covers an area of about 3 blocks long and two blocks deep. This is where the majority of the shops and restaurants are located. Thus, this is where most tourists congregate and where the vast majority of seasonal workers (SWs) and local Jasperites (LJs) are employed.

The remainder of the town is composed primarily of residential housing and includes two schools, an RCMP station, recreation facilities and sports fields. The majority of the residential areas of Jasper are somewhat hidden from the downtown core. Few tourists would venture into these areas, with exception of those who are staying at one of the many home accommodations offered by

residents. Home accommodations are similar to bed and breakfasts, but National Park regulations make it difficult to acquire permits for serving breakfast; there are only one or two actual 'bed and breakfast' establishments and between 150 and 200 "home accommodations".

In addition to home accommodations for tourists, there are approximately 15 hotels along the main street in Jasper to accommodate the influx of tourists and around 6 establishments that offer cabin-style accommodations near Jasper townsite. The largest and most well-known of these is Jasper Park Lodge (JPL), a Fairmont hotel property. JPL is located about six kilometres east of Jasper and is a resort style hotel, including cabin type accommodations. In addition to JPL, there are several other similar facilities within a few kilometres of the town.

The People

Jasper is home to two different types of residents: LJs and SWs. LJs are people who either grew up in Jasper or who have lived there for a number of years and have established roots in the town. The length of time required before you can call yourself a local "Jasperite" varies depending with whom you are talking. At minimum it's expected that LJs will have experienced Jasper during all seasons, and thus have been there for at least a year. However, most people suggest that you have to spend at least three years in Jasper to really consider yourself a "Jasperite".

SWs are in Jasper "for a good time not a long time" (Larry). Most SWs arrive in the spring and stay until the end of summer. Many of these are students who are on break from university and want to make a little money during the

summer. There is a smaller influx of workers in the fall just before the ski hill opens. Most of these workers are employed by the local ski hill.

Young women and men from across Canada and around the world come to work in Jasper. There is a perception that there are more women than men, although it is likely close to even numbers of each gender. The vast majority of workers come from around Canada, including many from the western provinces. There is also a relatively large population of French-speaking workers from Quebec. Many of the workers from abroad are from Australia and Japan. Most workers are just out of high school and between the ages of 18 and 20. However, there are many slightly older workers up to the age of 25 or 27. Most come from middle class backgrounds.

Finding accommodations as a SW can be difficult. A few businesses provide their staff with accommodations, although the type of accommodation varies by type of business. Hotels generally have portions of their space designated for staff quarters. Some hotels have separate buildings designed for staff, while others house staff in the basements. Some restaurants and shops also provide staff accommodation. Typically, businesses purchase a house or condominium and rent it out to their employees. These accommodations are spread out around the residential area of Jasper. Finding accommodation in Jasper can be a challenge, so places that offer staff accommodation are considered to be ideal places to work.

For young workers without the benefit of staff accommodation, finding a place to live can be quite challenging. There are a few apartment complexes

located at the north and south ends of the town. The apartment block on the North end (Cavell apartments) is the most affordable and attracted mostly young SWs. One long-time resident of Jasper who lived in the area referred to the apartment complex as "Cavell hell" because she was often woken up in the middle of the night by young people returning home from the bar.

There are many more apartment complexes on the South end of town. These apartments are home to mix of people including some SWs and some LJs. In general, the age of people in these accommodations are older than those who lived in Cavell and, while parties were common, they are generally more reserved than parties at Cavell.

Due to the tight restrictions on accommodation, it is not unusual for SWs to live in tents in the surrounding forests. This is typically a temporary solution to the housing shortage and is against park bylaws, due to the risk of fire.

Thus, the accommodation options for SWs in Jasper are relatively separate from LJs and tourist accommodations. Most SWs share apartment style accommodation or live in dorm style staff accommodations: providing spaces for SWs to socialize and to engage in casual sex.

Social life in Jasper

SWs are attracted to Jasper for a variety of reasons. Many young people are looking to get away from their lives in their hometown and experience something new and different. They are looking for a change and an escape from what their lives were like before.

Samantha: I just wanted to get away from [my home town]. I was kind of like in a rut there so I just wanted to get away and have a fresh start somewhere...

Don: I think a lot of people are sort of here in hiding, for some people, I don't know, for me it was hiding from my parents divorce and not getting a career on, on the go.

Susan: I felt like I needed to get out of [my home town] and just do my own thing I needed umm, umm, to kind of get away I guess or kinda get away from the person I was seeing and have been seeing off and on for five years just to figure things out for myself without him. And ummm also just to get away from home and to start my own life without the help of my parents and my sister and everything.

For Samantha and Susan, Jasper provides a fresh start, a place to begin a life where no one knows them or any of their history. It is a place to start over. For Don, Jasper provides a temporary escape from what else is going on in his life. It gives him a break from dealing with his parent's divorce and not getting his career started. It provides him with a respite before he started a career.

Other people are not focused on getting away from their lives, but go to Jasper because they think it would be an interesting place to live or because they are drawn by the activities in the mountains.

Steve: I just love the mountains. And it's somewhere I've always wanted to live and Jasper's just a nice, quiet little town. There's no hustle and bustle of the real world I guess.

Gwen: I wasn't doing anything in [my home town]. So, I'm like I might as well go to the mountains. And so, we pretty much were guaranteed the jobs out there. So then we moved out here and that's about it. (chuckles) Just had no reason to go home so thought it would be a good experience.

Robert: I moved here last November to teach snowboarding at Marmot Basin. And the reason I moved to Jasper was cause there's no snow and mountains in [my home province].

When workers arrive in Jasper they tend to develop relationships with other SWs. For the most part LJs and SWs do not socialize together. LJs hesitate to make lasting friendships or to open up to SWs. Some SWs perceive the LJs to be jaded from always seeing people frequently come and go.

Stacy: Cause we [the locals] kinda stick with the same people... Well people move here and then kind of get infiltrated into a group or whatever. And if they stay past a summer, then they do. But I; I don't hang out. I don't have a lot of transient friends...My friends are actually pretty much the same as when I was 13.

Teresa: I found that a lot of people who had been here for a number of years, it was much more difficult to get closer to them. Because they have seen so many people come and go that they really have a good, strong basis of friends who are here full-time... There's people who come and go, but you don't really allow yourself to get that close to those people because you know, they're just going to go; I find that there's a lot of LJs that are tarnished by people coming and going.

One participant went to Jasper on the suggestion of a local Jasperite she had met in a nearby city. She then ended up working at a store that employed mostly LJs; as a result, her social network consisted mostly of LJs, rather than other SWs. She found it hard to relate and integrate with the group because they were so tightly knit and had a strong history together. She said that they were all quite nice, but that she never felt like a part of their group. They would often talk about things that she could not contribute to: topics related to people she did not know or events she had not participated in. As a result, she stopped socializing with the LJs and was hoping to get to know more SWs. She found the SWs more approachable and friendly because they were in the same situations she was in—being in a new place without an established social network.

Jasper is seen by many of the people who live there (SWs and LJs alike) as a small party town, with the best of city and small town atmospheres.

John: It had the small-town sort of atmosphere but it wasn't small-town minded because a lot of people come from elsewhere, university, cities and so it doesn't have a small-town mind but it has a small-town atmosphere.

Carrie: I just like the whole small-town mentality and I'm not really comfortable in big cities or anything but I also feel like Jasper kinda has, like it's like a little city because we have people from all over the world that come here right. So it's not just, it's not your regular small-town, right.

Many participants mentioned the "party scene" when they talked about what they liked about Jasper or their initial impression of Jasper. Generally, partying means going to one of the local bars with friends and co-workers. Evenings often start at someone's apartment so that they could start drinking a little earlier and pay less for alcohol than they would in the bar. Around 11 or 12, they would make the transition to the bar where they drink some more, dance, socialize with friends and potentially meet someone with whom to flirt, dance, or have casual sex. When the bars close down many patrons move on to "after-parties", parties at someone's house where the drinking and socializing continue. 'After parties' often include the use of drugs like marijuana or ecstasy.

SWs in particular are excited to find themselves among so many like-minded people.

Robert: Everybody here likes to have a good time. Like everybody likes to go out and party and stuff like that. At first I was pretty excited, like just moving here I was very, I was like, oh, everybody likes to party this is awesome.

This 'party' atmosphere is mostly due to the influx of SWs—many of whom were away from home for the first time (Burrows & Olsen, 1998).

Beth: A lot of the people that come here especially in the summer, are the first time away from home are first year; just coming from university and they've come here to work. And one of the first things about Jasper is people come here with... are willing to take more risks than they normally would in their comfort zone back where they come from where everybody knows them and people can talk about them if they do something wrong. Whereas they can come here and regardless of what happens, they know they're going home in a couple of months.

Beth worked in one of the community organizations. One of the main goals of this organization is to work with the SWs to reduce the incidence of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) in the community. She compared Jasper to a "huge college where everybody works instead of going to school". The atmosphere is like a college in that there is a large population of young people who have just left home for the first time and who do not have a parent telling them how to act or laying out rules for them. However, the youth in Jasper lack much of the structure that students face. There is no homework and there are no examinations to study for (Burrows & Olsen, 1998). Many of the jobs require relatively little skill, making it possible for them to go to work hung-over, drunk or high on a regular basis.

Several participants recounted stories of their daily lives in Jasper. Colin's story is not out of the ordinary.

Colin: I'd wake up at 6:30 in the morning... I would smoke pot at 7:00 in the morning. I'd get on the bus. I would get to the hill about 7:30, quarter to 8:00... We would get off the chairlift and we would stop in these trees and smoke a joint. I didn't have to work until 11:00 so I set up my bar and everything like that. And then my boss... would hand me a pipe and say go for a ride. So I'd go for a ride. I'd get high. I'd come back to work... Worked till about 2:00. My boss would hand

> me another pipe and say go for another ride... Four o'clock came around... We would...smoke a bowl... Everybody would always sit on the patio... So I would order two pitchers of beer every single day... So then I would drink that. We'd go into town and we'd order either 15 Kokanee [a popular Canadian beer] or 18 Kokanee and we'd drink that. We'd go to the bar. And this is for 108 days straight! It was just, it was really retarded yeah. I slept on a bathroom floor quite a few nights.

The lives of SWs (and some LJs) can exist around socializing, drinking and going to the bar, with work being the means to acquire the funds to drink. I heard several stories about people who would be down to their last twenty dollars and spent it at the bar in one night, rather than on food. I was told stories about some people visiting the Food Bank after spending their last $20 at the bar. The people I was talking with considered this practice unethical and it seemed like a relatively uncommon occurrence. During the winter Jasper has community dinners on Sunday nights, which are open to any resident of Jasper and are either free or have a nominal fee of two or three dollars. Many SWs referred to these dinners as the one time during the week that they got a decent meal. The priority of many workers was on having fun; eating well, or even eating at all, takes second place to having a good time.

In addition to the consumption of alcohol, there are also a lot of drugs in Jasper, mostly marijuana and ecstasy. A few participants talked about smoking marijuana on a regular basis and other participants talked about doing drugs (usually marijuana) after they get home from the bar. Some participants mentioned knowing people who take ecstasy, but I did not talk to anyone who said that they take ecstasy on a regular basis. There was no mention of other

drugs in Jasper. One participant suggested that it would be easier to find other drugs like crystal meth and cocaine in Banff because there is more money there.

This social atmosphere contrasts with the more structured freedom of university students. University students must negotiate classes and exams, they may have a more structured living environment that includes meal plans, with some senior students acting as residence leaders who try to maintain order and support the younger students. Alternatively, they may still live with their parents or with other students. In Jasper life is more similar to being a long-term tourist. There is not the same structure in the residences and most SWs are responsible for their own meals. The amount of drinking, drug use and sex that takes place in Jasper is an example of what Eiser and Ford (1995) refer to as situational disinhibition, in which people behave differently when they enter different situations. Eiser and Ford specifically examined casual sex among tourists and argue that social context influences how individuals see their behaviour and determine what is acceptable or unacceptable. They suggest that people are far more likely to engage in casual sex while on vacation because they view the holiday environment as consisting of different goals and as providing different opportunities than are normally found at home.

Seasonal work is in many ways similar to being a tourist. Workers are away from their familiar environment, focused on experiencing new things, participating in an environment that promotes drinking, drugs and sex, and have limited responsibilities. It is likely that SWs experience situational disinhibition similar to tourists. The workers do not see themselves as permanent residents

and these loose ties to the community mean that they have a limited sense of responsibility to the community. They see their time in Jasper as a short time in their lives where they can have fun before settling down and developing a career. Similar to what Eiser and Ford would expect from young people going to a new area, several people mentioned drastic changes in the behaviours of the people they knew prior to arriving in Jasper.

Susan: Just seeing the way my friends acted, the difference between how they acted here and the way they acted back home surprised me.

Anne: He was a totally different person in Jasper than he was in [my home town], it's really interesting.

Both Susan and Anne talked about changes in friends they had known prior to arriving in Jasper. The changes they mentioned included drinking a lot more alcohol and spending a lot more time at the bar. Anne said that she had never seen her friend like that before.

Anne: They were so drunk, like obnoxiously drunk by the time that I got there, they had gone on this tour de France, like it's like a bike race/drinking game and they were so drunk by the time I got there, like screaming drunk and I've never seen Jim like that before, and he was... I've never seen him slightly intoxicated, so it's really weird and they were all over the place.

Many times I heard reference to the phrase "what happens in Jasper stays in Jasper" as a way to describe why the party scene is so big and why casual sex is so accepted.

Robert: I don't think it's really hard (to have casual sex) because everybody's here to have fun and have a good time, or whatever. And even like, on the radio you hear like "what happens in Jasper, stays in Jasper"; it's like, it's pretty much true. Everyone comes in for a weekend and it's just like oh, you know this one weekend in Jasper and nobody's going to know, nobody's going to find out or whatever so, I think that people come here pretty much expecting it always.

The radio ad that Robert refers to is an ad for Sunday nights at a local bar. The ad encourages SWs in Jasper to come out for a night called "SIN Sunday" (Sunday Industry Night). This night is targeted specifically to those who are working the rest of the week in the tourism industry as a night to relax and unwind, for them to be served (alcohol) rather than serving others. This particular local business is capitalizing on (and promoting) situational disinhibition. What happens in Jasper stays in Jasper; no one needs to know about what you were doing while you were here. No one important to you, who may judge you, will ever find out. So, it is acceptable to do things that you wouldn't normally do, relax, drink, and have sex—now is your chance. Susan talked about the young people who go to Jasper.

Susan: [They are] experimenting cause they don't have their parents with them. You know, close people that know them really well that are going to rat on them or else someone completely different where everyone's strangers and they're starting to experience different things and try different things and take risks.

Sunday nights at this bar are known to be the wildest night of the week in Jasper. Many workers from JPL show up for their weekly nightclub fix (although parties happen nightly at the JPL staff pub) and other Jasper residents show up to take in the party.

Eiser and Ford (1995) suggest that situational disinhibition is a result of adaptations that people make to different settings. So that when people arrive into a setting with high levels of casual sex they adapt and change their sense of self to fit within this new environment. This assertion fits with reports from some workers about people they knew prior to going to Jasper. However, this change

is likely also anticipated by some because Jasper has a reputation among many young people for being a fun place to drink and go to the bar. Susan talked about a friend that came out to visit. Prior to arriving in Jasper he made a bet with friends that he would get laid while in Jasper.

Situational disinhibition means that (for SWs and tourists) what happens in Jasper stays in Jasper. LJs do not have the same luxury of escape because they have roots in Jasper. So while what happens in Jasper stays in Jasper, since LJs are staying in Jasper too, they cannot escape from their behaviour. For LJs, the social consequences of having casual sex are different than they are for SWs.

Stacy: But it's different also with being a local I think because it isn't as if you're here for a summer and can leave. And what happens in Jasper stays in Jasper because you have no connections in Jasper. It's still a small town. Where if you did you know, sleep around, your mom would probably find out.

Even for SWs there is no guarantee that everything will stay in Jasper. Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and pregnancy are real concerns for youth engaging in casual sex while they are in Jasper. Jasper reports one of the highest STI rates in the country (Burrows & Olsen, 1998), and pregnancy rates are also high.

Agnes: I lived [in the hotel staff accommodation] for two and a half months and in that time I knew five girls that got pregnant within those two and a half months that were in my circle of friends.

Teresa: Seeing what my friends go through with the dating scenes here... as far as like, date rape drug. Getting attacked um...STD's, STI's, they're in Jasper. I can't think of one person in Jasper that I know that does not have an STI and it's a little intimidating.

Estimating rates of casual sex is certainly difficult, and while not everyone that I met had engaged in casual sex, there certainly is the perception that everybody is doing it. It is generally assumed by most YAJs that other YAJs are willing to have casual sex; it has become something that is expected.

Steve: I think also with just general senses of Jasper is everybody's here to pick up. I think cause most people are summer students or residents. So then they come here, hook up, be a little freer and then go back to their regular lives.

Agnes: A lot of people having casual sex. Like oh, probably everybody I knew there got laid at least once in the two, two and a half months that I was there (working at a particular hotel).

In the middle of interviews, people would often refer me to someone else who would be "really good for me to talk with". The implication was that these people engaged in a lot of casual sex, certainly more casual sex than the person I was talking with. I did end up interviewing a few people referred to me and it turned out that some of them had not engaged in casual sex while in Jasper. This was not the impression I was given by the person that referred me. I am not sure how these particular people developed a reputation for engaging in casual sex, but my guess is that it was assumed by the way they behaved in bars: they flirted and dance with people they did not know well.

During a casual conversation one man told me that the first summer he was in Jasper he had sex with 30 different women. While this may be higher than many people I spoke with, generally most people reported multiple partners during their time in Jasper. There is also the perception that casual sex is a lot more accessible in Jasper compared with other communities.

Jane: You get it in [my home town] too, but it's different because those kids are still at home. I think it's a big difference when people are moving, and they're not at home and mummy and daddy aren't there to watch over them. Here they kind of do what they want and they have a lot of freedom.

James: I think there is something in Jasper that really makes people horny... for lack of a better term, beyond the partying and just the liquor induced fucking. I, like, I think that there is something in Jasper air that makes people want to procreate... I would just say the natural beauty of the area. Right. Just the nature in the area and the life that is all around us and, it's always spring, that's the best way that I can put it. It's just always spring, it's always alive things are always happening.

The expectation that Jasper is home to high rates of casual sex, likely also contributes to these high rates, thus creating "chicken and egg" phenomenon. Some SWs go to Jasper anticipating an atmosphere with a lot of partying and casual sex, while others arrive in Jasper without those impressions and get "swept up" in the atmosphere. Considering that the assumption is that YAJs engage in casual sex, those who are not interested in casual sex must take steps to demonstrate their lack of interest and intentionally portray themselves in ways that communicate this lack of interest. They will avoid meeting new people, especially in bars.

While Jasper is considered by most to be overwhelmed with sexual activity, not all people see casual sex as a large component of Jasper or as being any different from anywhere else.

Gwen: But honestly, anywhere you are, if you want to get laid, you can. Like in the city, go to Edmonton and it's probably worse. It's just because it's a small town and so everyone just blows it out of proportion kind of I think.

The popular idea that Jasper is a combination of a small town and big city seem to optimize potential for casual sex, and portray Jasper as unique and no different from cities. Jasper is like a large city in that there is a concentration of young people in a small area. Often in cities you have an area known to young people as a good place to socialize, drink and meet people; often an area with many bars. At night, in those areas you see predominantly young people congregating. Jasper has this density of young people partying, but lacks the city surrounding it. It is unusual that there would be such a high density of young people in such a small community, not to mention young people away from home and their parents. Thus, Jasper is not seen as any different from larger cities regarding casual sex behaviours.

Yet Jasper is a small town. It takes about half an hour to walk from one end of town to the other or you can get a taxi to take you anywhere in town for around three or four dollars. This means that if you go to someone's home, you know that it will be relatively easy to get back to your place.

Agnes: Like some people have said it's easier to hook up in Jasper just because you know that it's either a three dollar cab ride or a ten minute walk home.

Additionally, there's the sense that because it is such a small town, everyone is somehow connected to everyone else. The only real "strangers" are the tourists passing though. This assumption provides an illusory sense of safety that people in larger cities may not experience. It is expected that you would hear about someone who treated someone else poorly. Women often mentioned this sense of safety when it came to choosing their partners. They were much

more likely to choose SWs or LJs. For some it might be people that they know casually or a friend of a friend. This makes women feel more comfortable and worry less about negative consequences of casual sex like STIs or violence.

Samantha: Yeah, because maybe it's just not for that one night stand. Maybe it's cause you like them like...You want to; you feel as though you've gotten to know them well enough that you take that next step... "But no, I wouldn't; I wouldn't wait for the tourists no. Cause I mean, you wait for the tourists and then you do something stupid like that and like you don't know where they've been. You know, like, and I've been in a situation where it's gotten me into trouble so I've really learned my lesson. Like, I can never do that. Especially like with a tourist regardless you know, a condom or whatever. But you don't know. And I just wouldn't feel comfortable doing that... Well that, and I mean, they could just be putting on like this fake kind of image of themselves, you know what I mean, just so they could get laid.

Susan: Even the girls that have hooked up, it's with other locals. And it's not necessarily with tourists. And maybe that's because maybe there's a little bit more comfort, comfort, comfortability . Um... because maybe they know them or they've seen their face or they've chatted with them in the street a couple of times or they feel they have a little bit more background. I'm not sure. Or maybe because they know there's a potential for a possible relationship after the one night stand because the person's going to be here still.

Women and men differ in their concerns regarding casual sex and this consequently impacts the types of partners with whom they prefer having casual sex. Women feel more comfortable having casual sex with someone they know somewhat before the night they have sex with them—giving them an opportunity to assess potential partners without the presence of alcohol and a sense that they really knew their partner. In addition, it provides the potential for the sex to lead into a relationship. It is important for women to have a connection to the men with whom they were having casual sex. It gave them a greater sense of

comfort and safety if they knew they had at least seen the man around a few times or talked with him.

While women feel most comfortable hooking up with SWs and LJs, many men reported that they prefer hooking up with tourists. Especially for local men, this provides added anonymity as the woman they have sex with have no connections to Jasper and leave town shortly thereafter. In a sense—what happens in Jasper leaves Jasper with the tourist with whom they hook up.

Don: It's inevitable that I'm going to be fooling around with other girls and stuff but I haven't yet just because it is a small town so word travels around so much that I'm sort of like, playing my cards just holding on to right now, before actually start sleeping around. I've been told that in July a lot of people start coming like more tourists and stuff like that and they're so much better to sleep around with because there's so many less strings attached.

Susan: Although personally, like my friends, guys and girls....maybe the guys more so, in the winter when we were working at the hill, they definitely would hook up with girls who are tourists. Yeah definitely... Yeah definitely.

Men mention that they prefer having sex with tourists for two reasons. First, there is some added anonymity and greater assurance that word will not spread around Jasper. Second, there is no risk that the woman will want a relationship. She is leaving right away and so he does not have to deal with her any more.

While men say they prefer in sex with tourists, however, many also have sex with other YAJs. This is likely because some women in Jasper are perceived to be assertive and seek out casual sex. According to some men and women I interviewed, men are unlikely to refuse casual sex.

Anne: Yeah I don't know, it just seems like, it seems here like the girls chase the guys a little bit more, that's more more, maybe it's always been that way, but it seems like the girls chase the guys here a little bit more.

Ian: Whether it be from dancing on the dance floor or offering to buy a drink. In Jasper, females are a lot more aggressive than anywhere else I've ever been.

There is a prevalent assumption that men will not say no to sex. This is an example of what Hollway (1984a) describes as the male sexual drive discourse, referring to the view that men have an insatiable sex drive. Therefore, it is not likely that men will turn down sex when it was offered. Although I saw a few men turning women down in bars, this seldom happened and the men sometimes ended up going home with a different woman. Several men said that an upfront and assertive woman was a turn-on[7] and that they would definitely be interested in her. Women seem to have a "higher success rate" when they are out looking for a casual sex partner because the men are far more likely to respond positively to a woman initiating sex than vice versa. Many men mentioned that women in Jasper are quite direct and will let them know they are looking for sex. One man mentioned that on several occasions when he has arrived home from working at the bar there was a woman in his bedroom. His roommate let her in, and she was there looking for sex. He said that sometimes he tries to talk them out of it, but he often "follows through with it".

[7] This is not always the case, men found assertive women attractive as long as they did not stray too far from their typical femininity. If women were too aggressive they were labeled as sluts. I discuss this further in the next chapter.

It is common for both men and women to engage in casual sex and while there was still some talk of the sexual double standard, overall it is accepted that women and men seek casual sex.

James: The surprising thing for me is the amount of women that come in and are looking for condoms because they want to get fucked. Like that blows my mind, like I always thought it was just primarily a male thing just that, going out and trying to find anything but I'd say that it's probably closer to 60/40 with women.

Robert: Like it's just as much girls as guys in Jasper.

HIV West Yellowhead

Due to the allegedly high rates of casual sex, and (as a result) the high rates of STIs, HIV West Yellowhead (HWY) develops programs to help prevent the spread of STIs and HIV in Jasper and they specifically target SWs. They provide orientations for most new workers in Jasper. During the orientations they discuss sexual health issues along with other issues related to living in Jasper.

HWY distributes condoms, lubrication and dental dams free of charge. There is also a free medical clinic open to anyone, including those without provincial health care. At the clinic YAJs receive free STI and pregnancy testing along with counselling. HWY distributes condoms to patrons in the local bars twice a week. They hand out an average of 200 condoms a night, by passing them out to people in the bar. The condoms have labels on them identifying HWY as a place to go for information and slogans that encourage people to use them. One month of the summer is considered "oral sex month". HWY staff tries to raise awareness of the potential consequences of oral sex and that STIs are also transmitted orally. They hand out suckers along with flavoured condoms.

Over the course of the summer HWY staff was getting reports from bar staff that many of the condoms were being swept up at the end of the night from people throwing them on the floor. As a result, HWY decided to leave condoms in each of the stalls in the washrooms and by the sink, as well as leaving them on the bar. Some servers also have a glass filled with condoms on their tray. Response to this switch seemed positive and resulted in fewer wasted condoms.

In addition to condom distribution, one month of the summer is considered "date rape" drug awareness month. HWY hands out coasters to patrons of the bar that can be used to test drinks for the presence of several common "date rape" drugs. The focus is on creating awareness of these drugs and stressing that they are being used in Jasper.

In general, the owners of the two main bars in Jasper are supportive of HWY's efforts at condom distribution. One bar gets involved and actively promotes HWY initiatives offering to hang posters and put up HWY displays. They also provided space for HWY's first annual fashion show. The other bar allows members of HWY to hand out condoms, but does not actively support their initiatives.

In addition to distributing condoms, HWY and COS organizes several dry events throughout the summer to promote alternatives to going to the bar and drinking. They have events during Canada Day, they host an annual "Hot Times" Volleyball Tournament, and this past summer they organized the first annual fashion show to raise money for HWY. "Captain Condom," the mascot for HWY,

makes frequent appearances throughout the summer promoting condom use and safe sex. S/he hands out condoms and participates in the events.

HWY is well-known among the established local population and SWs. SWs typically know them as the "condom people" who hand out condoms in bars; they are less aware of the other roles they play or the other services they offer. While I was visiting the HWY office one day, two men stopped by. One was taking the other on a tour of Jasper because he had just arrived to start work for the summer. The man offering the tour made sure to stop by HWY office so that the newcomer would know where to get free condoms. Other community members seem quite supportive of HWY and their efforts to curb rates of STIs among SWs. All members of the community seem to be aware of the issues that come along with an influx of young people every year. I had several conversations with established LJs and business owners; overall they were supportive of HWY and their efforts. One woman mentioned that her 16 year old son borrowed the Captain Condom costume one Halloween and wore it to his high school Halloween party. She saw this as an important effort to get the safe-sex message out to younger members of the Jasper community.

It is difficult to determine the effect that HWY and their programs have on sexually active young adults. A few participants mentioned that seeing condoms handed out in bars deterred them from engaging in casual sex in Jasper.

Susan: Since I've been in Jasper I haven't, I haven't umm, hooked up with anyone. Umm one of the main reasons and big reasons... when I first got here I actually felt like that's what I was wanting to do. Like I was getting away from someone else and a different relationship and I was, I had the frame of mind that this is my chance, and to explore and everything too. Umm, what really scared me though was the fact

> that the first night that I got here there were people handing out condoms so that made me think okay, Jasper is not the place to... if I wanted to do casual sex Jasper isn't the place because that you just don't know enough, and umm sure I'm on the birth-control and sure you can use a condom but you never know, it's not worth the risk.

Volunteers and staff members of HWY who hand out condoms suggest that most people are positive and excited about getting a condom in a bar. They are convinced that handing out condoms has a positive impact on the community; they assume that since so many young people are engaging in casual sex they can help make it a little safer by handing out condoms in places where people are likely to hook up for sex. The focus is on managing the risk of engaging in casual sex and HWY has a mandate of harm reduction. They accept that many (if not most) SWs will engage in casual sex and that will result in the transmission of disease and unintended pregnancy. Thus, they aim to reduce the rate of STI transmission and unintended pregnancies by providing condoms to YAJs in situations where they may engage in casual sex. They assume that it is more likely that people will use condoms if they have them in their pocket than if they have buy them or find them elsewhere.

Conclusion

Overall, Jasper is a small community rich with a young party crowd and an atmosphere that encourages drinking and casual sex ideal for studying heterosexual casual sex. It was relatively easy for me to gain contacts because it is such a small community and because of the community support for organizations like HWY and COS. These organizations proved to be essential for my entry into the community and provided an added perspective on the party

atmosphere. The small community also enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of heterosexual casual sex in this environment. The high concentration of young people and high incidence of casual sex made it easier to develop an understanding about how this particular community contributes to casual sex and the particular discourses surrounding casual sex in Jasper. HWY plays a key role in fostering community awareness of issues related to HIV and STIs associated with casual sex in the Jasper community.

CHAPTER FIVE

"The Script": Variations on a theme

This chapter is a description of some of the ways that YAJs "hook up" for casual sex, including how they meet someone (usually at a bar), transition to a more private location, and have casual sex. I describe some of the common themes that came out through the interviews—ideas repeated through many different stories. These descriptions do not reflect all the stories I heard, nor do they represent a finite list of the ways that people "hook up". I use these descriptions here because they represent the most common stories and they contextualize the analysis in the following two chapters.

Before going to the bar.

In the evenings in Jasper, many of the YAJs head out to one of the two local dance bars. Some go out to drink, talk with friends and dance. Others are hoping that in addition to drinking and dancing, they will also be able to find someone with whom they can engage in casual sex. YAJs looking for casual sex may prepare differently for the bar than those who are looking to have a good time with their friends. YAJs hoping to meet someone for sex may spend a little more time getting ready for the night.

Samantha: I dress differently [when I'm going out to be with my friends].
Melanie: Yeah? So how would you dress if you're just going out with your friends?
Samantha: Jeans, shirts, whatever. Whatever I feel comfortable in. Like I feel comfortable in this. It doesn't mean I'm dressing up to get laid, you now what I mean? Um...but yeah, if I was just going with my friends I would wear my hat, I wouldn't wear any makeup. I mean, it all varies like too. Cause like sometimes if I'm like oh I feel like wearing makeup today; nothing to do with anybody else but I just feel like

wearing makeup. But one thing I wear like a boob shirt [when I want to get laid]. (laughs)

Melanie: A boob shirt. What's a boob shirt?

Samantha: A boob shirt where I have cleavage. (laughs) Yeah. That always; that always gets things started.

James: But yeah, no, for the social elements of going to the bar, there was different priming, even different dress, right, like people would like, even myself when I'm go out to the bar of hopes of trying to find somebody, I'll probably dress differently, put on nicer clothes, sometimes I'm a bit of a scrub.

Samantha and James both mentioned that they prepare differently before going to the bar when they are looking for casual sex, compared to when they just want to spend time with some friends. They have the perception that special preparations might increase their chances in finding someone else who is interested in them, but it certainly does not guarantee that they will end up having casual sex. Also, sometimes when they are just going out with friends, they end up meeting someone who interests them and have casual sex.

Samantha: Well like I mean, there may have been two instances where I was actually on the prowl and got what I wanted. But other than that, it just kind of happens. I can't explain it you know. I'd either be like la de da with my friends and then all of a sudden, catch some guy and like ooh, he's cute. The same thing you know, vice versa but it just could be the alcohol.

Regardless of whether or not YAJs are looking for casual sex, many get together with friends to start drinking at a friend's apartment before heading to the bar because drinks in the bars are quite expensive. This drinking often begins between 9 and 10 o'clock, and people start heading to the bar between 11 o'clock and midnight. YAJs often show up in same sex groups, although mixed groups are not uncommon.

At the bar.

When looking for sex, YAJs said that they spent more time looking around for someone who interests them rather than focusing on talking with their friends. They might wander around and start talking to lots of people. Some men also mentioned that they are much more likely to pick up on (or read into) women's signals of interest.

Stacy: Um, I think, yeah, well especially with guys maybe. Just cause like if you see a guy and they're just like looking around and always like on the prowl like, like with their eyes, looking and checking people out you know. Like, if you're just there to hang out with your buddies and sit and have a beer and have a laugh, you're probably going to be looking at your friends more than you are at the people walking by, you know what I mean?

Gary: I don't; I'm just not looking for the, like I said, you just don't notice those signs that may be there cause you're more interested in like... getting loud and rambunctious with your buddies... (chuckles)... uh... yeah it's just, you're less, you're oblivious to things more if you're not, if you're not interested in it. Yeah, you read it differently. You just...yeah, you won't notice the eye contact as much cause if you're not looking for it, you're looking around at other things in the bar more. You're not, you're not focusing on, on that girl. Whereas if you're thinking oh geez, it would be nice to take her home tonight, you're like looking more, you know. You're just; it's just you and her when you're talking to her. Yeah.

I had a casual conversation with one man who mentioned that one night when he was at the bar he saw a woman walking around with a condom attached to her shirt. He read this as a sign that she was out looking for casual sex. Two bouncers I interviewed said that they watched men walking from one group of women to the next until they find someone who is willing to talk and/or dance with them, and potentially to go home with them. A few men also mentioned that they

use this as a strategy. The more women they approach, the greater their chances of finding someone to go home with.

Robert: Um...you can tell like guys that really get dressed up, really want to look good at the bar or whatever, and then you can like; well for me to like, cause I stand and watch the crowd all night I can see them go from group to group to group you know like it's just start with one group of girls and if that doesn't work out, you kind of just move your way along the bar till they find someone who's interested and then, they start their you know, start to put them moves on, or whatever.

Don: I approach way more girls like [when I'm looking to get laid], sometimes it's like, sometimes it's fun to be shut down you have to like, a lot of people don't know how to court properly, and you have to treat it like anything where practice makes perfect, and so you'll fail a shit load and... it's a fucking numbers game, you have to like, sort of set goals and stuff for yourself, okay look I'm going to hit on five girls tonight, and I'll probably get shut down a lot and I get shot down really hard.

YAJs perceive that women are more likely to "put the invitation out there" by catching a man's eye and smiling, or even by sending a man a drink.

Robert: Yeah, it's um...it all depends at who's smiling at who I guess. Like, in my experience if I look up at a girl and she's smiling at me and that kind of makes me want to say look go over and say hi or whatever. But and then if you're the one playing that role, I think it's the other way around. It's like, I think the smile is almost an invitation. You know, because if you're looking at somebody and they're scowling, then you're going to be like okay, and walk away.

Stacy: I think it's like if I was trying to pick up, for sure. Like I would be, yeah, I'd be in a central location looking around, looking cute, you know. For sure.

Anne: I think probably what you're wearing and stuff like that too. Um, kind of like, sitting at a table especially by yourself if you're a girl, or like sitting even with a bunch, like a group of girls, and like looking around, like not being into your group, but like looking around, you're like looking for something else. You know what I mean? Like you get groups of girls that go, they're just like having fun by themselves, dancing by themselves and totally into their conversation and not looking around at all then a guy I don't think would approach them. And same with guys, like you see a lot of guys in groups, and like looking around. And I think that's an indicator that you're interested.

Perper and Weis (1987) refer to these strategies as proceptive strategies. They argue that women initiate sexual behaviour through the use of subtle "flirting" behaviours like smiling, making eye contact and the way they dress. Men read these cues and act on them by making an overt approach. YAJs mentioned these types of behaviours as important indicators of sexual interest. However, YAJs did not describe these as exclusively female behaviours, unlike Perper and Weis. Many men and women talked about the importance of mutual eye contact. Robert, one of the participants, suggested that men and women can use these behaviours as an invitation for someone to approach and begin a conversation.

While some YAJs reported that women are more passive when they are seeking sex (they send out indications that they might be interested and try to encourage men to approach them), a few YAJs mentioned that women are much more direct.

Robert: A girl's a lot more, um open. Like a guy will try and be sly and will try to buy you a drink and talk and, and girls will just come right out and say it. Like most times, just like what are you doing today? Come home with me. Or you know, I'll pay for my own cab. I'll hear girls say, "come back to my place, I'll pay for your cab, I'll pay for your cab home". I've heard girls being like; there are two or three girls being like "come with us" blah blah blah, and like, there's a lot of that going on in Jasper.

Ian: In Jasper, females are a lot more aggressive than anywhere else I've ever been... they'll just go up to a guy and be like hi, I want to go home with you tonight. Or just go up to a guy and start kissing him and making out.

These descriptions of women initiating and directly inviting men to engage in casual sex differs from typical descriptions of heteronormative sexual scripts

that position men in the role of initiator (See Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005; Laner & Ventrone, 1998).

Regardless of who made the initial approach, eye contact is considered very important in determining whom to approach. Several men mentioned that it is not advisable to approach a woman prior to making some eye contact.

Robert: Like, I find it is just, like eye contact. You're just looking across the bar and there's you know, you know how you can kind of feel somebody looking at you sometimes. And it's just like catch an eye and then as you're looking at them, they'll give you smile or whatever. And from my experiences, that's always how it's started. Eye contact and a smile and you're like, ohhh. I'm in there, you know what I mean, like it's, it's just enough to get a guy excited to pursue it I think.

Gary: Oh definitely. Definitely. Especially with, with the approaching. Like...yeah, if you, if you see somebody repeatedly making eye contact with you from across the bar, you're more likely to go and talk to her.

YAJs reported that eye contact is useful not only for the initial approach, but also to see if someone is interested in continuing the conversation. Both women and men talked about the importance of eye contact in communicating sexual interest.

Colin: Uh...the way they talk to you. Yeah, you can tell when a woman wants to get action. You can just tell. Just even the look in their eyes. The way that they talk to you. The way, how they can giggle about anything. Like the stupidest things can make them laugh. It's like I wasn't trying to make you laugh. But you're horny so whatever. Good enough.

John: Hmmm, usually there is greater eye contact, conversation is still casual, doesn't go into depth, but yeah just greater eye contact and sort of more, more open posturing, and sort of less standoff body language, and some it's perceived a lot through body language.

In addition to eye contact, many YAJs use other forms of body language to determine when the person they were talking with is interested in continuing the conversation and potentially engaging in casual sex.

Don: How relaxed she is, like her posture, just if she's like it's bad, (crosses arms – closed posture) but it's just like open arms and stuff like that, lots of eye contact, smiling and laughing at things that aren't funny, and you know just sometimes, like the good one's a small touch on the lower back or stuff like that, because it's not very sexual but it still just engages contact, sort of thing.

Gary: [I can tell when a woman is] definitely into it. It's just....there's no hesitation. (laughs) It's...it's, it's, it's, if, if, if you're the one making the move, then it's, it's reciprocated like immediately. There's no like thinking about it like that. Yeah (pause) Just, little, little hints included in things you talk about. Like if it turns to; no, that's not true actually. We don't usually just talk about sex. (pause) I don't know. Body, just body language. (pause) H-mm, yeah.

Melanie: Can you tell me what kind of body language?

Gary: Oh, a lot of, a lot of touching. Like if you're talking, she'll grab your arm and something like that. And uh...standing really close. Like you know, like if it's kind of loud, you'll go somewhere quieter or you're talking so that basically your lips are touching each other's ears as you talk sort of thing. Yeah.

In general, open and relaxed body posture is read as a sign that the other person is interested. In addition, smiles and laughter are also important. Once it is established that two people are at least a little interested in one another, they spend a good portion of the evening talking, dancing and buying each other drinks.

While dancing, some "couples" begin to make more contact and might press against their partner, touch their partner and kiss.

Anne: So anyways, so how did we end up hooking up at the very end, so really drunk on the dance floor and he just, I don't know he started bumping into me on the dance floor and then touch, we started like touching each other a lot more, and then like you like brush hands and if I grab onto his hands and stuff like that, like there's like contact,

> and like he started it but, I like definitely progressed with it, and so we are dancing, dancing kind of holding hands and we were dancing, arms around my waist, and kind of dancing and then we just started kissing on the dance floor and then it's like and we did that for awhile like, kind of like stumbled around kissing, and it was and dancing and making asses of ourselves... Yeah, and then at 2:30 you see the people that are going to go home together on the dance floor and the people who are like stumbling around and kissing on the dance floor. It seems like how you have to go about doing it, because I don't think. It's hard to be sitting, you can't sit and talk at a bar for one... And it would be awkward to be like sitting and talking sitting and talking and to be like oh, do you want to come home with me? You know what I mean? You have to have some definite physical contact before, yeah, before it's understood that that's definitely what's going to happen.

Participants talked about "grinding" and "groping" as frequent behaviours they participate in while dancing to demonstrate their interest in someone. "Grinding" is a type of dancing where the partners push their pelvises together while moving in sync to the music. Grinding can also include one partner (usually a woman) pushing her buttocks into her partner's groin area and they move to the beat of the music in that position. "Groping" is when partners are dancing in close proximity and rubbing their hands over their partner's body including their back, neck, stomach and buttocks.

I saw many couples kissing and touching one another on the dance floor. A few of these were likely couples who were dating or knew one another well before the evening began, but most appeared to be couples who were just getting to know one another. Most "couples" would avoid eye contact with one another on the dance floor. Thus, while YAJs discussed the importance of eye contact in establishing a connection, once they were on the dance floor eye contact was not common. Several participants mentioned that this is because it

is more intimate to maintain eye contact while in close proximity and touching each other or holding each other around the waist.

The transition to a more private location.

Toward the end of the night some couples make the transition to someplace more private. Not all couples end up hooking up or going home together; even some couples who were kissing and "grinding" on the dance floor go their separate ways at the end of the night.

Some transitions were made nonverbally.

Gary: Like this one girl, we just, we just walked and talked and ended up walking to my place. You know, we, we talked the whole time but we never mentioned anything about one person coming over to the other's, anything like that.

Susan: We just really started leaving altogether in a big group of friends because we had the same group of friends... and we just started walking together and like, talking about other things like, not, like other things like what happened at the bar that night and nothing, no specifics about what was gonna happen and where we were going. And yeah we just started walking together and said goodbye to everyone else and...

I asked two people who mentioned scenarios where they just both ended up at one person's house if one was following the other home. They said no, that they were just walking together and ended up at one person's house or the other's.

While it was common to transition to a private location without talking about it, YAJs are more likely to verbalize an invitation to their place than at any other time during the evening. Sometimes it was as simple as asking what the other was doing after the bar closed down. Other times it was inviting someone over for a few beers with a group of people or to an after party.

Laurie: So... we ended up talking about leaving, like going to my house and umm, he said "yeah, sure alright", so we went outside and waited for a cab, got in the cab went down, one thing led to another. So basically there was nothing really said.... per se. But there is sort of like little hints, like things like, umm like when we were in the cab he kind of like, took a condom out of his pocket and put it back in you know, and like, just little like, (laughs) so I mean it's obvious it wasn't actually said out loud.

Gary: Whereas there was another one where um...I just said you want to come; like, like we were going to a house party after the bar and I just said you want to come to this, to my buddy's and she said yeah.

Some people mentioned that sometimes it was even more direct: they would just ask if a person wanted to go home with them. Two men mentioned that using humour in these situations was particularly helpful. This way it provides both of them an "out". One man said that it was important to leave it vague when asking someone home. He said this gives the woman an "out" and she does not have to make the decision to have sex just then, she can just take it "one step at a time".

Back in the bedroom.

Once they got back to a more private location, there may be some conversation and then sexual activity. In general most men said that you just have to go in for the first kiss to break the ice and get things going. For the most part it was men who did this, but there were also stories of women beginning the sexual activity.

Most women and men talked about the progression in terms of "little steps" or "baby steps" that begin at the bar and continue once they get home. To tell when it might be appropriate to take the next step, people mentioned listening to the other's breathing or paying attention to their general response looking for

enthusiasm or active participation in the sexual activity. Additionally, pulling the partner into them, eye contact and moaning were mentioned as other ways to tell that someone is interested.

Stacy: Um..but yeah, it's definitely been mainly the positive you know. Just a big smile or a moan or moving closer. You know, a big like grabbing me or something or or kind of initiating the same thing cause often you'll kind of shadow each other, you know what I mean?

Steve: Just like...putting, pushing themselves closer to you or um...like I don't know. Getting into, into the movement or whatever. Or just not really a sigh of relief but just like a sigh of pleasure I guess. Or they enjoy what are you doing and they can tell you're enjoying it. So that usually is a good indication too to keep going or...at least a start off point to keep going. I mean they're, everybody is always welcome to stop whenever they want.

Verbal signals are used very little during casual sex. A few men said that talking about what you are doing should be avoided. However, others said that if they are unsure about what their partner wants, or whether or not their partner wants to have sex, then they ask by saying something like "is this okay?"

Sexual activity progresses this way until one person stops the activity or until they are engaging in sex—typically meaning vaginal-penile intercourse. Many stories include the presence of a condom. One woman mentioned that her casual partner took a condom out of his pocket in the cab ride on the way home. Another woman mentioned going to get a condom from another room in her apartment after she and her partner were naked. Several other people mentioned that they would not engage in casual sex without a condom. However, there were reports of YAJs engaging in unprotected sex. Julie told stories about talking with men about using condoms.

Julie: So, I asked them what they thought about wearing condoms. They said that they would not wear condoms, it was not "a la mode" it was not the trend anymore. They don't feel good. Why would I wear a condom, I know I'm clean?" I asked if they got tested and they said no, but they know they're clean. And I thought, "oh that's disgusting". A couple of weeks later I was talking with Carlos about that. He said, "yeah, I don't like to wear condom, but if you want me to wear condom then I will wear condom for you".

Julie is the only person who reported stories about men not wanting to wear condoms; however, others reported sometimes going without.

After sex.

After they had sex the "couple" may or may not spend the night together. Samantha said that she does not like spending the night with someone with whom she just had casual sex.

Samantha: [After sex] I tell him to go home. He can't even sleep over. I don't like it when the guys sleep over. That's my space. You know like, we've done the deed. We've both got what we wanted. It's time for you to go home.

Samantha is the only participant who expressed a strong preference for spending the rest of the night alone after engaging in casual sex. Many people said that they would end up spending the night with their casual partner and then go home the next morning. One participant referred to this as the "walk of shame" when YAJs walk home from a casual partner's house after spending the night.

Most often the two people do not talk anymore after engaging in casual sex. Some women expressed interest in maintaining a friendly or romantic relationship with the men with whom they engaged in casual sex; however, men did not report a desire to continue the relationship. One man mentioned that he

enjoys making breakfast for the women in the morning, but he did not mention any instances when the relationship continued after having casual sex.

Conclusion

Most stories of casual sex fit within the above description. However, there were many other variations. For example, John mentioned meeting most of his partners in coffee shops or around town. He did not go to bars because he had a dog that he did not want to leave alone. I also heard stories about women approaching men and asking them if they want to have sex, then going straight home to have sex (rather than spending longer in the bar). One bouncer mentioned that he has seen women going home with one man earlier on in the evening then returning to the bar and finding a second partner for the evening. These stories were not as common as the ones I described above.

Script theory presupposes that sexual activity is culturally mediated (Gagnon, 1990). Thus, there are normative patterns of behaviours that are read in similar ways by members of that culture. YAJs descriptions of their casual sex experiences can be read as a description of normative scripts regarding casual sex negotiations. There are likely multiple scripts and a multitude of variations on those scripts. I argue that the sexual script approach to understanding the processes of sexual negotiation is one-dimensional and fails to consider how discursive constructions of heterosex produce the scripts described. These types of descriptions are sometimes used to draw conclusions about the "nature" of heterosexual relations (see, Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005; Laner & Ventrone, 1998). While it can be helpful to identify trends in sexual relationships, asserting

that this is a description of the way relationships "are" can serve to reify gendered power relationships. Thus, I do not present this chapter as a definitive description of the casual sex script—but to lay the foundation for the discursive analysis that follows.

CHAPTER SIX

Negotiating heterosexuality

When interrogating the negotiation of heterosexual sex, it is critically important to consider power relations between men and women—power relations that create potential for a form of casual sex that is predominantly masculine and serves male sexual desires. Radical feminist critiques of heterosexuality suggest that there is no room for women to exert power over their own sexuality while they are being penetrated by men (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1994). However, male power is not monolithic and immobile and is more complex than the binary notion of men as the powerful and women as the powerless. There is a need for "a conceptualization of power which captures both women's experiences of agency in heterosexual relationships and the way in which these relationships are simultaneously governed discursively by male power" (Allen, 2003, p. 571). There are two major goals for this chapter. First, I begin this chapter by highlighting ways that the negotiation of casual sex in Jasper is dominated by discourses that privilege male sexual desire. In this section I discuss the three discourses of heterosexuality identified by Hollway (1984a) and I argue for a fourth discourse within casual sex that I label the "it just happens" discourse. Through this discourse, casual sex is constructed as something that "just happens" and is beyond the control of the partners. I end the chapter with an analysis of the ways that women find spaces of power and agency within these discourses. Women exercise agency by placing limits on casual sex, disrupting

the "coital imperative" and by taking the typically "male" position within the discourse by actively seeking casual sex.

The (Male) Models of Heterosexual Casual Sex in Jasper

Four discourses are taken up by young adults in Jasper to describe casual sex and how it happens. The first one I label the "it just happens" discourse. The other three are discourses that Hollway (1984a) has identified: the male sexual drive discourse, the have/hold discourse, and the permissive discourse.

"It just happens" discourse. When I approached young adults in Jasper (YAJs) and told them about my study, I explained that I was interested in learning about how casual sex happens in Jasper, and how partners communicate their willingness to participate in casual sex. I began interviews by asking them about their lives in Jasper and about their past dating and sexual experiences. At some point during the interview, I inevitably asked some version of the question "how does casual sex happen?" or "how do two people come to the understanding that they are going to have sex?" At this point many of the participants stopped and stared at me with perplexed looks on their faces. I interpreted their reactions as saying "Have you never had sex?" The presumption seemed to be that if I had sex at some point, then I would have known how it happened. The answer would have been obvious. The answer (of course) is that it "just happens". Almost all of the women and a few of the men responded with some version of this statement.

Samantha: So you're like kind of like making eye contact, smiling at each other, and then all of a sudden we're like standing by each other talking. And just like…I don't know how it happened but we like; all of a sudden we were…(laughs)…we were just like talking and we were talking about that and like he started kissing me and we went back to

my house. And it wasn't even a question of would you like to come to my house? You know what I mean? It was just like that. That's what happened. (laughs) And then in the middle of it, it was just like, oh my God!

Anne: He, he just kissed me. Like he just, we were holding hands and dancing then he kissed me and I kissed him back and then it just... Yeah, we were hugging and kissing. I was, it was not... I don't know, it just happened.

James: That's a really interesting question, because you don't really, I don't really analyze how it happens really, it just kind of happens.

This discourse of "it just happens" reflects a sense that there is a force greater than and external to the two people involved in casual sex that is ultimately responsible for instigating sex. By using this discourse it seems more acceptable for women (and men?) to engage in casual sex. By saying that it "just happens," women are relinquishing responsibility for engaging in casual sex. Anne expresses this sense by saying that she "felt a little less of a slut if it wasn't something I really intended on doing, it just happened." Anne's comment also highlights her negotiation of the good girl/bad girl dichotomy. In order to maintain her "good girl" status, she feels that it is only acceptable to engage in casual sex that is "accidental". The underlying discourse of good girl/bad girl can silence women's own sexual desires and the expression of their desire to engage in casual sex.

By adopting this discourse, women are relinquishing themselves and their male partners of responsibility and suggest that men are just as susceptible to this force as women. There is no recognition that their male partners may have orchestrated the casual sex or controlled the women in any way. Gwen provides a particularly poignant example.

Gwen: Yeah. And then so, yeah, and then he just kept talking. Like we didn't dance or anything. We just sat by the bar and talked for like two hours and he just kept feeding me drinks. (laughs) But he was just drinking just as much as I was so it wasn't that big of a deal. So every time I'd get a drink, he would get a drink. And um...yeah, and then... And then I went to the washroom and then when I came out, he wasn't there. It was like okay, I'm just going to go home. And then I was walking outside and he like got a cab and stuff. And he was like do you need a ride? Like I'll give you a cab and I'll give you a ride home. And then like sure, whatever. It was raining. It was ugly out. And then um...his friend was with him too and he said well why don't you just come over for a couple of beer? And I was like okay, I don't have to work until 3:30 the next day. I can do that. And um...so I went over. We had some beer. And then I was like okay, I'm going to go home. And he was like well no, let's just talk for a bit. And I was like okay, and then one thing led to another...

The way that Gwen tells the story, she sees it as a series of events that took place, finishing with "and one thing led to another." She does not see the man's behaviour as orchestrating her going home with him for casual sex. She dismisses his buying her lots of drinks because he too is drinking. She does not think anything of him arranging a cab for her or asking her home. She does not say anything to imply that his actions may have been planned—that he may be buying her alcohol to get her drunk so she would be more likely to go home with him. She ends the story with "and one thing led to another" implying that neither one of them was in control of what was happening.

Most participants, especially women, expressed a sense of lack of control over the situation. Just one thing led to another, rather than expressing an intent or interest in engaging in casual sex. James is one of the few men who also express this sense of "it just happens".

James: It's just something that happens, and you don't really know how it happened, but it happened. And ahh, I've never had an experience where it's happened and then she's been like "I really didn't want that

> to happen" which I'm very thankful for. But you know you go to an after party or something, right like you're already just hard-core making out on the dance floor lets say, right and you're doing dry humping and bumping and grinding and hanging off each other as you leave the bar. You get to the guy's party house or wherever you're at right, you're sitting around. The next thing you know, nobody's in the room and you're lying on each other and one thing leads to another. Right like, that's really the only way to put it, you start making out that leads to nakedness that leads to sex.

James too expresses this sense that there must be some external force that is ultimately responsible for sex. He goes to an after-party, all of a sudden the room is empty and they are lying on each other. There is no sense that he or his partner wanted to have sex or did anything to progress towards sex. In this quote, James also reinforces the notion that sex, including casual sex, is purely natural, that there is a biological drive responsible for encouraging and creating casual sex encounters.

James was thankful that no woman has ever told him afterwards that she did not want to have sex. He said this as though he cannot control the situation or outcome—as though he has no access to the woman's comfort levels, interests or desires. For him, the "it just happens" also applies to allegations of rape or sexual violence. If sex can just happen, and he has no control over what happens, he also has no control over any potential consequences of the interaction. He is denying possibilities of sexual assault occurring in casual sex situations like his own. Sexual assault is not something that happens to women, but something that men are accused of randomly after sex "just happens". Another man who also took up the "it just happens" discourse for at least some of his casual sex experiences suggested that nonconsensual sex just does not

happen. To him, what is labeled as nonconsensual sex is really just a result of the "morning after" regret. This use of "it just happens" discourse assumes that men are not responsible for negotiating casual sex and precludes any explicit verbal communication of willingness. As a result, some men fail to take responsibility for their actions and the potential for these actions to create harm.

Agnes, among others, connected the "it just happens" discourse with alcohol. "Alcohol is a huge key, like huge, and it really makes you, it really limits you, your ability to make good, clear, conscious decisions." I spoke with only one person who said that most often his casual sex hookups occur in the absence of alcohol, often with people he meets in coffee shops or on the street. All other participants mentioned that alcohol plays an important part in their casual sex experiences. When I asked Susan how casual sex happens alcohol was the first thing she mentioned.

Susan: Go to the bar. Start buying other people drinks and start drinking yourself. It's really really... it's all related to alcohol, I think. And for a lot of other people drugs, but I don't see that side of it because I've never been a part of that side of it. Um, but yeah well it depends well as a girl if that's what you're looking for when you come to Jasper. You dress really skanky and you get out on the dance floor and you drink lots. And there's gonna be a guy there. Guaranteed.

Many others mentioned being drunk as a necessary component of casual sex.

Teresa: Yeah, we were, we were both pretty drunk. We were outside having a cigarette and I leaned over and kissed him. I was like, come on, you can sleep at my place tonight. So we walked home. I lived like not even a block away from the bar that we both worked at. And, and um...got inside...I put on a tee shirt and a pair of boxers. He was in his shorts. He was in there and apparently I had my own shirt off and both of our own shorts off within about half an hour and it was completely not an issue and it doesn't surprise me whatsoever cause he was very, very attractive.

When I asked Jane how people hooked up, she said they "get really drunk and start dancing". For Jane this is the way that hookups started, the way casual sex started and how "it all happened".

While alcohol plays a part in most casual sex experiences, two men talked about the use of alcohol outside of the "it just happens" discourse by planning for different levels of alcohol consumption when they are interested in engaging in casual sex. One man said that on nights that he's looking to hookup he drinks less and he looks for women who are not totally drunk. For him, it's important that both he and his partner are aware of what they are doing and he said that sex is much less "sloppy" when people have been drinking less. He still stated that some alcohol should be consumed to loosen inhibitions (his and his partner's).

James said that there are differences between nights when he goes looking for casual sex versus nights when he's just looking to relax and have a good time.

James: Yeah, there were differences, Umm, for example there wouldn't be a lot of marinating at home… if we were going out and actually looking for women then it's, I like trying to keep my senses about me a little bit more. That way (a) you don't come off like a total retard and you know, you should still kind of know what you're doing, right like, nobody wants coyote ugly.

A few men commented that moderating the amount of alcohol was important when they are interested in casual sex; yet no women expressed similar concerns. In fact, for women, it seems that the more they have to drink the better for engaging in casual sex. This difference in the levels of alcohol that women and men consume creates an environment where men are moderating

levels of alcohol and thus maintaining some level of control. Conversely, women do not limit alcohol when they engaged in casual sex, and are much less likely to be able to maintain a level of control during the interaction. The alcohol can then be used as an excuse for how or why sex "just happened" and is another way for women to feel as though they are absolved of responsibility and as Anne mentioned "feel less slutty". Men and women both become objects of sexual desire within this discourse. Men are positioned in ways that absolve them of the responsibility for engaging in, and initiating or orchestrating casual sex. This discourse can hide the ways that men may intentionally or actively pursue casual sex.

The discourse of "it just happens" creates a version of casual sex where there is the illusion that neither partner is responsible for casual sex, although men seem to be orchestrating at least some of these interactions by moderating their level of alcohol consumption (for example). By positioning themselves within this discourse, women can then feel like "good girls" who do not actively seek sex, they are "not slutty". Women are also enabling men's denials of responsibility. Men are not viewed as controlling sex or as orchestrating the interaction. They too, are susceptible to sex just happening. From the perspective of a few men who take up this discourse, they relinquish themselves of responsibility for sex and any potentially negative consequences of the sex. They cannot then be responsible if a woman accuses them of sexual violence. The sex just happened; the men were not in control over what took place any more than the women.

Male sexual drive discourse. While most women and a few men began talking about casual sex through the "it just happens" discourse, this was not the only way that hookups were conceptualized. Many men began by describing how they pick up women, often by dancing with them, buying them a drink or starting a conversation.

John: Oh, you're just sort of sitting around drinking coffee, not really doing anything and, at or you know, somebody walks by and says, hey nice dog, and yeah, and you start a conversation, or somebody's walking down the street and it's like hey how's it going? and conversation ensues and either there's a sense of "hey" you know, you're kinda cute...

Colin: Dancing is a big thing. If...if you can make an ass of yourself. Like get them to laugh, then you're in. That's all it takes really. Like who cares how good looking you are or how smooth you are, then yeah, if you can make them laugh. Then yeah, I think what a woman wants is somebody to have fun with. Not the whole sensitive oh, I cried at the *Notebook*.

It seems that men talk with more of an intention of going to hook up, and they pay particular attention to the types of things women may want in men, and the particular things to do to get women interested in them. Overall men seemed more aware of how to act to get what they want and how to interpret women's actions to judge whether or not they may be able to hook up with a particular woman. For most men, casual sex does not just happen; it is something that they have to work for and something they practice. Robert, a bouncer in one of the local bars said that he often sees men going from one group of women to another until they find someone willing to talk with them. Don said that he approaches a lot of women when he's looking for sex and that he knows he will get turned down frequently.

This fits in with what Hollway (1984a) describes as the male sexual drive discourse where the prevalent view is that men's sex drive is insatiable and that women's role in sexual activity is to be passive and go along with men's desires. Within this discourse men are sexual subjects acting in ways to fulfill their desire for sex. Through this discourse men also secure their masculinity, by reinforcing their ever-present sex drive. Conversely, women are positioned as sexual objects—objects necessary for men to satiate their desire for sex, without any desires of their own. Women's own desires are absent in this discourse. Many men discussed taking a more active role in pursuing and finding a woman to have sex with. Men reported many strategies that they used in order to find a sexual partner. In the comments above Robert and Don both mention that men often approach many women. The idea is that the more women they approach, the greater the likelihood that they will find one that will agree to have sex with them.

Some men mentioned that it was important for them to continue to monitor women's behaviours in ways that would increase the chance of "getting laid" even once men were in conversation or dancing with a particular woman. A few men mentioned that it was important for women to feel as though they are in control of the situation, and that they are comfortable. Don articulated many aspects of this discourse from a male perspective.

Don: You just give her a sense of security like, making them the focal point, and just looking out for them like, just simple sayings like, like obviously getting the door for them, like putting on their jacket but like actually pulling their hair back so it doesn't go under their jacket, like little things like that, and just looking out for them even if it's just like creating some space for them, like in a crowded club or something

> like that just little things like that seemed to go a long way... you have to really play it by ear because it can be over done... you have to give her her space and be relaxed and at the same time just be a conscientious and make her feel comfortable, you know offer them like something to drink right, I'm not saying offering them a shot or something like that, but like can I get you a drink, would you like my jacket are you cold and something like that.

Don is very deliberate in his approach with women; he sees himself in pursuit of sex and sees it as a challenge to get women to have sex with him. He is quite aware of his actions and how they may help him reach his goal. While on the surface he seems concerned about women's comfort level, this really is just a means to an end: a way to get women to go to bed with him.

Don took up the male sexual drive discourse throughout his interview. When I first met Don, he had just recently moved to Jasper, and had a girlfriend still living in their hometown. During the interview Don said that it was "inevitable" that he would have casual sex during his time in Jasper. He seemed to believe that his sex drive was insatiable and it would be futile to resist his desire for casual sex. Don articulated his approach to women quite clearly and it was obvious that he thought carefully about how to approach women to get what he wants. He made references to the importance of "knowing how to court a woman properly" and "knowing your arts well". By these he meant that it is important for men to know the right away to approach women and talk to them, so as to make them feel comfortable and to build a sense of trust.

In order to satiate his 'natural' sexual desires as described through the male sexual drive discourse, Don learnt and implemented specific strategies that enabled him to have casual sex. Here, Don accepts that he is responsible for

learning how to quench his ever-present desire. Yet his drive is viewed as "natural" and thus "inevitable," compelling him to have casual sex throughout the summer. By becoming skilled at the "arts" of "courting," he increases the likelihood and frequency that he will be able to satisfy these desires.

Don talked in detail about how he monitored women's behaviour to gauge their comfort level and willingness to have sex. In particular a woman's breathing was very important.

Don: It is all about the girl's breathing, and that's like, a lot of guys don't realize that, but that's like, that's your like light signal that's your red yellow green, right there it's her breathing and just playing that off and so you just gradually sort of progress things forward to taking off clothes.

For Don, it was important that he maintain control over the situation and over casual sex. He talked positively about situations where women initiated casual sex, as long as the woman was not too direct.

Don: The odd time that I get approached by a girl it works, like it's nice to see a girl of confidence and stuff like that but you can't be too direct because then it's just too easy, it kills it, like you know unless I was just slumming it you know, and going for raunchy sex.

For Don, an important component of casual sex is the chase and the challenge of picking up a woman. Without the challenge, he is just "slumming it". Several other men talked in similar ways about women who are actively seeking sex.

Colin: If they come on too strong, then you can kind of tell that they're kinda skanky. But if they come on sort of in a shy manner, then, then it's a good thing. Good cause it gives you room to open them up. You know what I mean? Like you've got to make them feel comfortable obviously or else it's just going to be stupid and suck... If they're really aggressive, it's just like no, I don't want to do this. Cause it's not

really giving you a challenge. Cause if they're really aggressive, it's just like well okay, I'll just take my shorts off and let's go.

Thus, the chase becomes a "natural" part of casual sex and courtship and seduction becomes the property of men.

John also talked about women initiating sex and acting assertively. Overall, he too suggested that this was a positive thing, unless she is too direct. Overly direct women are considered intimidating and "slutty". A key component to the male sexual drive discourse is that men maintain control of the sexual experience. Overly sexually aggressive women threaten this control; men find this aggressive behaviour intimidating and the women are then labeled slutty.

Men were not the only ones who took up the male sexual drive discourse. Women also used it in their descriptions of casual sex. Women were far less likely to articulate ways that casual sex happens. Several women could not move beyond the "it just happens" discourse. Others talked about just going with the flow and following the man's lead.

Anne: I wasn't really thinking about what I was doing, I was just following along with the moment before.

Jane: I kinda went with it. I'm sure if I'd said you know, no. He would've stopped... but I continued on, though.

Anne and Jane describe themselves as passive during their experiences of casual sex. Their own desires do not factor into their decision to engage in sex and they seem to just go along with their male partner. It is not clear whether or not this sex is wanted or unwanted. Anne and Jane both described these experiences as "consensual" but did not express any interest or desire in

engaging in casual sex. Many women feel that their male partners predominantly initiated casual sex.

Gary: Yeah, it tends to, yeah, like the first kiss is almost always and... yeah, stepping up the level of, of making out and what not; it's almost always like well I mean in my case anyways, it's almost always me that's taking it a little bit further, a little bit further, a little bit further, yeah.

Even in cases where the women are interested in particular men, women wait for men to initiate contact.

Samantha: It's usually the guy who makes the first move I guess, towards me if they can see I'm attracted to them or whatever.

Both men and women suggested that men initiate sex much more frequently than women. However, there were many who talked about sex that was initiated by women. But even during times when women initiate sex, they still take up the male sexual drive discourse by assuming that the men will be willing to engage in sex.

Stacy: I was always the one who initiated it cause I think the guy's you know, nervous you know. They don't want to you know, upset you or offend you or go to far too fast. But it seems like the other way around isn't an issue. Like I'm never worried I'm going to offend the guy, you know what I mean, by doing something more or that and...and I've never been turned down so I don't know. Maybe I'm pushy or something. But I don't think I am.

Agnes: And I think it's more the girl to...be the one that decides whether or not it's going to happen because from my experiences, there's not very many times when a guy won't have sex. In fact, more often than not, that's all they're in it for is and not like looking for a relationship or just somebody to snuggle with.

Men also took up this aspect of the male sexual drive discourse. When I asked men how they indicated their willingness for sex to their partners, many responded by saying that they do not have to demonstrate willingness.

Colin: I just like I'm, I'm a guy. I'm ready, willing and able anywhere anytime.

Gary: I think it's probably pretty rare that the guy says stop. I mean, I don't know with other guys for sure but... from, from what I know, then I say that the guy's not going to say stop. And unless there's something else like he has a girlfriend or something like that.

This male sexual drive discourse was the discourse most frequently referred to by both women and men as they talked about casual sex. The male sexual drive discourse is different from the "it just happens" discourse in that both men and women who take up this discourse recognize that men actively pursue casual sex. This is viewed as the "normal" and "natural" way to engage in casual sex and remained unquestioned by all but one female participant.

Stacy: It's, it's so unfair that it's really assumed in our society that it's the guy's job to [initiate sex]. You know what I mean. It's the guy's job to invite the girl out on a date. It's the guy's job to initiate this. It's the guy's job to initiate that. Yeah, it's the guy's job to initiate sex. It's the guy's job to do everything. The girl's kind of the passive like you know? Passive partner who goes along with everything or doesn't. But is always like you know, things happen to her, she doesn't, you know what I mean?... Like don't treat me like some idiot! Like some damsel in fucking distress. So I think that that goes a long way into the bedroom too where like I don't expect him, you know what I mean? Like I'm willing to go out on a limb and face rejection, you know what I mean?

Have/hold discourse. While the male sexual drive discourse was the most frequently taken up, other discourses described by Hollway (1984a) were alluded to by participants. Many women and a few men took up the have/hold discourse. Hollway describes this discourse as the belief that sex comes with a committed and ongoing relationship. In this discourse women are positioned as the sexual subjects who were trying to establish a committed relationship with a man. Men are positioned as the objects of this discourse. Thus the have/hold discourse

works with the male sexual drive discourse; men are attempting to satiate their sexual desires and women participate in sex to build and maintain a committed relationship.

It was surprising to see this discourse taken up when women and men were talking about casual sex. Although both women and men are aware that many casual sex experiences do not lead to lasting and committed relationships, some women reported that one reason they engage in casual sex is because they may be interested in a relationship. This also reflects previous research on casual sex that argues that one reason that women engage in casual sex is to develop a lasting relationship (Weaver & Herold, 2000; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). Samantha and Agnes both said that some of the partners they chose were people with whom they were interested in developing a relationship. Most of these casual sex experiences did not lead to a relationship.

Agnes said that she learned that if she wanted a relationship she should not sleep with a man the first night they are together because she found that after she slept with a man on the first "date", he would no longer speak to her.

Agnes: We ended up sleeping together and woke up the next morning, and we slept together again and then he like, never talked to me after that. And we were supposed to hang out on New Year's Eve together, cuz it was like two nights after that and umm, I phoned him on New Year's Eve, and asked him what he was doing, and he was like "oh I think I'm just going to stay home". He totally blew me off.

As a result, Agnes made a rule for herself and lets men know that she will not have sex with them right away. She no longer engages in sex on the first date or first time being together. She will, though, have sex with them on the second date. She felt that this would prevent them from just using her for sex for

one night then leaving. By staying around for a second night, they demonstrate a certain level of interest or commitment. Unfortunately, she found that waiting until the second night they were together did not change the end result.

Agnes: I ended up hooking up with this friend of mine, but now I like have this thing where I won't sleep with guys on the first date, just because I don't like the feeling of being used the next day and for me that's a really big thing, and so, but this guy... we hooked up one night and then, I wouldn't sleep with him, so the next night, he ended up spending the night and I slept with him and then he never talked to me again. And so now, like even that little theory of mine, is totally like... blown out the window.

Agnes told stories about hooking up with people for casual sex and said "I'm totally, like, fine to have casual sex with people, but like if they're under one impression and I'm under another and it's not the same then kind of makes me mad." While she said that she does not mind having casual sex, the experiences she recounted to me fell into two categories. Either they were similar to the one in the quote above where she was hurt because the man did not talk with her again, or they were situations where the man lived out of town and they had ongoing casual sex whenever they were in the same city.

Agnes: We have this little agreement that whenever (laughs) I'm in [town] we end up hooking up, every time, and it's very very easy and very casual and it's comfortable because I know him.

Agnes' sexual subjectivity is produced through this discourse in several ways. First, there is the notion that she is looking for more than just one night of sex. She expects there to be some investment in the relationship when she has sex with a man. This commitment does not have to be in the form of an exclusive and romantic relationship. It could also be a casual affair that lasts several weeks. Second, when she engages in casual sex, she prefers it to be

with people with whom she has an ongoing relationship—even if the relationship is about sex.

Agnes is not the only woman who spoke of these ideas. Jane recounts a story in which she met a man in whom she was interested. At first, she thinks he is a real "gentleman" because he does not try to sleep with her the first night they are together. They did, however, have sex the second night they were together. Afterwards she was angry because he no longer spoke to her. She called him a "really big slut" and a liar. She sees his actions as being dishonest because for her, having sex with someone is a sign that there is at least some interest and some commitment.

Even for some women who actively sought out one-night-stands, their subject position was at least partially constructed through the have/hold discourse. After seeking out casual sex with a particular man Anne felt ambivalent regarding further contact with him. She did not call him because she did not want to begin a relationship with him. She turned off her answering machine and purposely spent a lot of time out of the house for the following few days. She did not want to know if he had called or not.

Anne: So it was not like I was expecting anything out of it, but I still, I do have like, like, I had like little fantasies about him, like staying or something like that, or like us continuing the relationship, so there must be, and I went into it totally like chasing him, I just wanted to have, to basically have casual sex, but I still have the future flashes.

Anne has purposely tried to disregard and shed the have/hold discourse and went out looking for a one-night-stand. Yet she still finds that she has what she calls "future flashes" and that she fantasizes about a possible future with the

man. She also mentioned a few times that she saw no reason why they could not be friends, or at least talk with one another after having casual sex.

Anne: I had one one-night-stand... and I just, I thought, like okay well you have sex with someone, and to me it doesn't matter, like sex... ok, I never felt like a slut when I do it, so I don't see other people... like I can never imagine other people thinking of me as a slut, but like, so I thought that we could just hang out with these guys afterwards and be friends, but it's weird, like once you've done the act, it's, there's like very like a lack of interest... How are you supposed to meet anybody in this stupid town to hang out with, you know what I mean?" Anne

Here Anne takes up a different form of the have/hold discourse. She is not concerned with creating or maintaining a sexual or romantic relationship. However, she expects that she should be able to maintain a friendly relationship with men with whom she has had sex. She views the men as potential people to hang out with and party with, people who can be part of her larger social network. She resents that most often after she has sex with them, she is excluded from their social network.

Men are positioned outside of this discourse, at least as it relates to casual sex. Almost all the men expect not to engage in any sort of relationship with someone after they had sex, unless there was a relationship established before they had sex. A few men mentioned that they would delay having sex with a woman if they wanted to have a relationship with her.

Colin: Well if you have a connection with this person and you're super attracted to them and you can see yourself being with them, then you won't fuck them the first date. Like if you really want a relationship with them, you're not going to spoil it by screwing them.

Don: Like a really good one is going home to smoke pot or to do blow but like I've cut blow out of my life, that was like a high school thing. But like blow's really good because it shows that you really wanna talk to them because when you do a lot of blow your dick is like a limp

> spaghetti, and it's just like useless for sex and so shows that you care about conversation and bullshit like that.

For men, the have/hold discourse comes into play only when they want to develop a relationship with a woman, whereas for women, they often take it up even when they are engaging in casual sex.

The have/hold discourse operates more subtly within heterosexual casual sex compared with the male sexual drive discourse. No men positioned themselves with this discourse; they all seemed to be satisfied with the "no strings attached' version of casual sex (although it is likely that some men in Jasper are interested in a relationship). This discourse operates along with the male sexual drive discourse to enable casual sex among YAJs in Jasper. Men engage in casual sex because of their "natural" and insatiable drive for sexual gratification. Conversely, women participate in casual sex with the hope of developing a lasting and committed relationship.

Sexual Permissiveness Discourse. Many people in Jasper deployed the sexual permissiveness discourse. This discourse refers to situations where women are permitted to engage in and initiate sex, albeit a strictly male model of sex (Hollway, 1984a). Many of the men and women I spoke with were surprised at how many women in Jasper initiate and seek out casual sex. One man I interviewed said "in Jasper, females are a lot more aggressive than anywhere else I've ever been." He had traveled around the United States with a college sports team and spent a number of years in Europe as well as different parts of Canada. He said that in Jasper women are a lot more forward and seek casual sex a lot more than anywhere else he has been. Robert said, "when I lived in

[another province], it was the guys. But like here, it's anybody who's you know, guys or girls making the first move for sure."

There was a sense that in Jasper it is a lot more acceptable for women to want casual sex, compared to other places.

Gwen: Yeah, I think it's getting more [acceptable] for, for girls too. Before it was just like kind of like no, I can't [have casual sex]. But now it's like who cares?

Jane: I guess it's changing now, because before guys were never called sluts. Guys were, they're studs. There you go. They're studs, if they can have sex with a whole bunch of girls, but if a girl has sex with a whole bunch of guys then she's a slut... I think so yeah, it's becoming a little more... um...socially accepted for girls to be sleeping with people.

Agnes: When I was in high school, somebody who like had casual sex and slept with a lot of people was called a slut. But I seldom ever hear that term. And I don't know if people have just grown up to realize that yeah, casual sex is something that you do when you get older. Like you know, just cause you sleep with a couple of people doesn't make you a bad person or a slut for it. But you know it's such a label in high school. And I don't see that [in Jasper] at all. Like there's the odd girl where you'll hear a guy say oh she's slept with me and all my friends, you know, but like you don't really hear cause I know like, a lot of people have a lot of casual sex here.

Casual sex for women is accepted within Jasper. It is acceptable for women to have sex as well as seek casual sex (although if they are "too" assertive or aggressive they risk being labeled a slut). This position enables the men in Jasper to also engage in casual sex. Without the use of this discourse, and the feeling that it is acceptable for women to have casual sex, it would be much more difficult for men to find willing partners. While on the surface it appears as though the sexual permissiveness discourse supports women's sexual desires, it is necessary for men to engage in casual sex and can obscure

sexual double standards. It appears as though it is acceptable for both women and men to engage in casual sex. However, this is only acceptable if they are engaging in a "masculine" version of casual sex and if women are adhering to normative constructions of femininity created through the male sexual drive discourse.

Women's sexual agency

The discourses discussed above create depictions of casual sex that benefit male sexual desires and needs and which are subject to male initiation. However, within these discourses women carve out spaces to exercise agency over their own sexuality and engage in heterosexual casual sex. Women create different degrees of agency during their casual sex experiences. First, women take advantage of the perception that more men are interested in casual sex than women and therefore women have more choice about the person with whom they have sex. Second, women exercise agency by interrupting sexual activity before they engage in casual sex. Third, they actively seek out and orchestrate casual sex to satisfy their own sexual desires.

One way that women exercise agency within casual sex is by taking advantage of the perception that there are a lot more men seeking casual sex than there are women. This creates a situation where women have a lot of choice regarding with whom they go home.

Teresa: There's so many men looking for sex that, you know, women really have their pick and choose of the litter. If they're just looking a one-night stand [the men I've talked to] said that you really have to stick out like a sore thumb or like be right there. Cause I've been in the bar with my boyfriend I don't know how many times and he'll have his arm

around me and that doesn't stop men from trying to pick you up because they're here for one reason. And one reason only.

Men and women sometimes argue that women have more power than men when it comes to casual sex, because they have the power of choice. Jane says that "girls have a lot of power in whether they go home with a man or not. Guys just kind of take their chance and hope they get lucky." If women are looking for casual sex it is much easier for them to find someone with whom to go home. In a sense they are taking advantage of belief in the male sexual drive discourse and using it to their advantage to have casual sex when they desire it.

Additionally, women were exercising agency by operating within and around the male sexual drive discourse by placing limits on the sexual activity—getting what they want out of it and stopping the interaction when they are satisfied. Agnes says that "I think too because the girl ultimately usually decides on... if there's going to be sex or not." Thus, while casual sex operates on the presumption of a male model of sexuality in which sexual intercourse is the goal, women and men perceive that women act as the "gatekeepers" and determine whether or not casual sex will happen.

Men as well as women reported that women often act as limit-setters. This is reminiscent of sexual script theory that places women in the position of gatekeeper (Weaver & Herold, 2000; Regan & Dreyer, 1999). Tim mentioned that sometimes women will be totally "into making out", but they will not let him take off their pants. He reads this as an indication that they are menstruating; he suggests that many women get particularly "horny" while they are menstruating. In these situations he is quite happy to continue making out without going further.

Regardless of whether or not these women are menstruating, taking up this strategy, or going along with his suggestion that they are menstruating gives them a chance to engage in casual sexual activity that does not lead to penetration.

James mentioned similar strategies used by a few women.

James: Like, you'll be with the girl and you'll be making out and she'll stop and be like, you know, "I really like you but I don't wanna go all the way because of this reason". Right, like, there are still virgins out there, believe it or not, who are like, saving themselves for marriage, it's a really romantic concept that I really still enjoy, but you... it's a rarity I'll say... but they'll still have tonnes and tonnes of fun, but they just won't go all the way.

By being up front and telling men their limits, these women are opening up possibilities for casual sexual activity that do not include penetration. James mentioned that often women who said they did not want to have sex would engage in oral sex or genital touching. When men mentioned these strategies, they did not mind that the women were placing limits on sexual activity. James mentioned later on that "realistically again, you know, a lot of them are tourists they're not gonna be around the next day, so you have bad luck that night you always go out a couple nights later and maybe your luck's changed." If one woman is not willing to participate fully in a male model of casual sex that includes sexual penetration, then another one will be later on.

Thus, these women are able to negotiate the "coital imperative" (Jackson, 1984a) of heterosexual sex by placing boundaries and limits around the sexual activity. This way, women are able to indirectly satisfy their own sexual desires while operating within normative heterosexual discourses. They disrupt the coital

imperative and open space for other activities. They do this without completely rejecting the coital imperative. By saying that they want to wait until marriage to have sex or that they are having their period, they imply that they would otherwise be willing to engage in intercourse and are recognizing the central role that intercourse plays in heterosexual relations.

While the women I interviewed did not talk about strategies that included claiming they were menstruating or that they wanted to remain virgins, many of them mentioned setting limits as a way to ensure control over their casual sex.

Agnes: I just don't let it happen. I say no, like when they try to go that direction, I'm like "no, I don't sleep with guys on the first date.

Many women have a sense that they are in control of placing limits on sexual activity. Of course they do have to be careful how they approach setting these limits.

Laurie: Well I guess, I would just, I don't know, I guess I would try to keep it kind of light and stuff, cause I don't want to piss them off right? Some guys could be weird and psycho (laughs) and so, I don't know I'd probably try to keep it light, put clothes on or whatever if I took my clothes off, and be like, "oh, can you go?" or I'm gonna go home or whatever.

Laurie mentioned that some men might be "psycho" and not let her end the interaction when she wants to. She implied that there is some fear of violent behaviour from men if she does not engage in intercourse. This fear was expressed by other women more indirectly when they said that they find it easier to have sex than to say "no".

In addition to negotiating the risk of sexual violence, there is also the risk that a woman will be labeled a "tease" for not "following through"—in other words, for not following a male model of sex that includes penetration.

Colin: I had her almost buck ass naked on my couch. And I tried and she shut me down. And uh...and it was just frustrating because she was just such a cock tease. I'd be changing and she'd come grinding with me while she's naked. And then she'd shut down. It's like fuck...It's annoying. It's really frustrating. It's like don't get me all horned up and then not deliver.

While women exercised agency by setting limits and interrupting sexual activity prior to penetration, the reaction of the men they were with varied. In some examples discussed above, the women's excuses were considered "legitimate" by the men. However, if a man did not consider the excuses "legitimate," he often became frustrated and women were labeled "teases". The possibility of being labeled a "cock tease" operates to limit women's access to strategies by which they create their own agency. It is also the case that by using excuses, women become the gatekeepers of sex, reinforcing a male sexual drive discourse in the process. In effect, while women are able to express agency, their agency is limited. Women usually deploy forms of agency consistent with dominant discourses that govern casual sex.

While many women express agency by setting sexual limits, others reported orchestrating their own casual sex experiences focused on their own pleasure. Anne's story is a good example of this type of agency and of the tension between a male oriented discursive construction of heterosexual casual sex and women's space for agency within that discourse. Anne carefully sought out and chose a man to have casual sex with.

Anne: He's not young young, he's 19, but like I haven't been with a 19 year old guy since I was 17, so it was really weird, but um it's so sad but it seems to safer to me, to go for someone who wasn't like, living in Jasper for so long, than for someone new and innocent, it sounds so dirty! (laughs)... but its that attitude. Like he was a really good-looking boy, but he probably didn't know how good-looking quite yet you know what I mean... and I knew when I met him that he was like, how old he was and I knew he was leaving in August.

Anne carefully chose a man whose social position enabled her more control over the situation. She liked the idea that Jack was young and new to Jasper. To her, this meant that he was likely not very experienced and that he had not yet developed an attitude like many other men she met in Jasper and gave her greater control over the situation. She went out with Jack and a few friends one night to go partying. Both of them got quite drunk, but the whole night she was focused on getting him to go home with her. At one point they tried to go to a different bar, but Jack was so drunk that the bouncers would not let him in; he said that he would just go home.

Anne: I was like, no, the whole point of going out with you guys is because of you, you can't go home, so, but I didn't say that, I'm like oh no no no, we can't leave one person out that's so wrong. And I asked the bouncer if we take him to park and he sobers up can we come back in an hour, and they said as long as he can walk straight or something like that then we'll let him in. So that, so we ended up doing that.

Anne ensured that Jack would stay with the rest of the group until the end of the night so she could take him home with her. They did end up back at that bar. Anne and Jack were dancing and kissing on the dance floor. One of Jack's friends was leaving the bar and came up and shook Jack's hand to congratulate him on successfully picking up Anne.

Anne: Like when the guy shook the guy's hand and like I don't care cause like, congratulations to me too, you know mean, that was my goal for

the night, to go home with him. So like, and then we did, and he is so much fun.

Anne felt that she too should be congratulated for taking up the typically male role in casual sex. She took up the active role, and Jack took on the more passive role by going along with it. When they did end up back at her place she was concerned about him, and his willingness to participate in sex.

Anne: I know I wanted to have sex, like that was something that was going to happen for me. But I did ask him because I kinda felt... just because I was so forward with it all the time, I just wanted to make sure he was along for the, like was there as well... Cause yeah, cause a lot of times I probably haven't been with the guy, and it just happened anyways, you just kind of follow along with the progression of things... Like I asked him before we had sex, are you sure you're okay with this? And he was like, yeah! Like what the fuck, like why are you asking that question?

She knew that she was not always really into the casual sex that took place previously and she did not like the feeling that gave her. Therefore, she made a point of ensuring that Jack was a willing participant. Jack almost took offense to her question. Her question subverts the male sexual drive discourse by questioning his desire. He took it as also questioning his masculinity as framed within the male sexual drive discourse.

Throughout the sexual activity, Anne ensured that her desires would be met.

Anne: I don't mind like, like helping myself get off when I'm having sex cause some guys are good at it, some guys know how to do it and you don't have to worry about it, but some guys are totally clueless, especially, maybe not so experienced guys and so I don't have an issue at all with for me its for me and I know that I don't have a problem with I want to do this I want to do that... Like when I was with Jack I did say it I have no problem saying certain things like, like just stuff like getting on top, different positions and like can you move over here can you move over there.

Anne claims she has no problem taking control of her sexual pleasure. During casual sex, she will pleasure herself if she is not getting what she wants from sex. She is also comfortable enough to ask for what she wants, be it a switch in position or for Jack to shift to a different position. Anne uses her sense of agency to get what she wants, at the same time she recognizes that the model of casual sex is a male model and so she has learned how to temporarily manipulate the model to fit her desires.

Anne: Like guys are assholes, I had no idea, no one told me, and it's not that I'm not angry at them, because I just see it, as that's the way they are, you just have to know that. I think girls should be given that knowledge, so that and then they can make their own decisions and what they want. If they want to participate in it or not, because sometimes I do, sometimes I'm like, I want to, and I'm up for it but you have to be really aware of what you're getting into, because you think, it really hurt like otherwise.

When Anne reflects back on previous casual sex experiences, ones in which she was shocked that the men did not speak with her afterwards because they only wanted sex, she wishes that someone had made her aware of the rules of casual sex according to men, as she feels she would have been more prepared. She argues that women should be better educated about what "guys are all about" so they can make better decisions for themselves—decisions focused on women's sexual pleasure and desires. Anne has found space within a construction of casual sex catering to male sexual desire to express and satisfy her own desires. She feels that now that she knows more about what casual sex is all about; she can choose when and how she participates in it. For Anne,

casual sex is deliberately engaged in, which contrasts with many other women's experiences of casual sex as something that "just happens".

Anne's story is perhaps the most obvious example of a version of women's agency that works within typically masculine discourses of casual sex to satisfy her own sexual desires. She is not however, the only woman who spoke of this type of agency. Julie also mentioned that she would change how sex is taking place to make sure that her needs are satisfied by telling her partner what she wants.

Julie: Like I'm not shy to be like, "ok, we're not in a hurry, just relax and if you don't relax go home".

If Julie is not getting her needs met, she will tell the man she is with and she will leave if he is not open to making space for her desires.

Women who take up sexual agency in this way move beyond the permissiveness discourse because they are not just giving themselves permission to participate in sex. They are creating experiences and situations to satisfy their own sexual desires. They do this not by changing the dominant discourses that govern heterosexual casual sex, but by creating spaces within those discourses and subtly challenging them to allow them to cater to their own needs.

Conclusion

The negotiation of heterosexual casual sex is a nuanced process laden with hegemonic and often contradictory discourses. Often, there is the sense that casual sex is not really negotiated at all, that it just happens when two people are together at the bar drinking. Running parallel to this discourse are the

male sexual drive discourse and the sexual permissiveness discourse. The male sexual drive discourse is used to create a model of casual sex governed by notions of male sexual desire as being ever-present and never satisfied. This discourse simultaneously silences women's sexual desires and assumes that women play a passive role in sexual relations. For casual sex to take place, the sexual permissiveness discourse is deployed allowing women to desire and participate in sex, as long as it is the version of sex in the male sexual drive discourse—that is penetrative sex with "no strings attached". A few women however, position themselves within the have/hold discourse and expect that after casual sex the possibility for a friendship or relationship still exists.

Within these discourses that privilege male desire, women have been able to carve out ways to negotiate casual sex that take into consideration their own desires. Women will place limits on the sexual activity or leave after their needs have been met. Sometimes women will take an even more active role in designing and orchestrating their own casual sex experiences that satisfy their desires. Women are adapting by recognizing that casual sex is often controlled by male sexual desire, then choosing when and how they participate in casual sex to get their own desires met. In effect, while women express limited forms of agency, all of these discourses work together to create a version of casual sex that reinforces the primacy of male desire.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Constructing consent and willingness to participate in casual sex

In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which YAJs communicate willingness to engage in casual sex and construct sexual consent to heterosexual casual sex. As discussed in Chapter Two definitions of consent are varied with no consensus on what consent means or if, and how, it is communicated. Thus, I hesitated to ask questions about consent early in the interviews. I was concerned that asking about consent would be too narrow. Consent is a politically laden term, often associated with sexual violence and the law. By asking specifically and exclusively about consent, I was concerned that responses would only reflect hegemonic discourses about sexual assault and consent. Instead I decided to ask more general questions about how YAJs demonstrate interest in and willingness to participate in casual sex to their partner and how they understand their partner's willingness and interest in the sexual activity. These questions are broader and open up more space for the participants to talk about their casual sex experiences in different ways. Toward the end of the interview, I asked them to define consent to casual sex and to talk about how they consented to casual sex.

Participants talked in detail about the communication process and how they understand their partner's willingness and interest in engaging in casual sex. Descriptions often began with events that happened at the bar and then progressed to a more private location where sexual activity took place. The questions I asked about how they understood their partner's willingness and

consent often encouraged participants to question and think about their interactions in a different way. Many participants said that they found the questions difficult to answer, as they had not thought about their interactions in this way before. Almost all were willing to think about their experiences and about the answers to these questions and many reported enjoying the interview experience. Through the use of these questions, I believe I was able to achieve a broader and deeper understanding of how YAJs understand and negotiate consensual casual sex experiences.

YAJs construct the communication of their willingness to engage in casual sex in three ways, first through the "you just know" discourse, which is similar to the "it just happens" discourse and implies that two people "just know" when they are both interested in having sex. Second, YAJs characterize this communication through the discourse of "no means no". In this section, I discuss how the language of the YAJs reflects the popular feminist anti-rape slogan. Third, some YAJs articulated specific and subtle behaviours they interpret as indicating someone's interest in having sex. I refer to this as the "yes means yes" discourse because, in these instances, YAJs describe positive behaviours that indicate their partner is interested and involved in the sexual activity.

Following these descriptions of the communication of willingness, I explore YAJs' constructions of sexual consent. In general, YAJs do not conceptualize their interactions within a discourse of consent—rather than thinking about if someone is consenting to sex, they are paying attention to whether or not their partner is interested in having sex. Consent is closely linked to sexual assault

and rape. Many participants began talking about consent by talking about sexual violence—consensual sex is sex that is not rape. However, they also talked about consent through the "no means no" and "yes means yes" discourses.

Willingness to participate in sex

In the following section, I outline and describe the different ways that YAJs reported communicating their willingness to engage in casual sex, and how they understand their partners' willingness. I do not view "willingness" to have casual sex as being synonymous with consent, although I argue that they are related. Consent has been defined as an "expression of willingness" to engage in casual sex (Hickman & Muelhenhard, 1999). Thus, willingness may be understood as a precursor to consent—in order to express consent, a person must be willing to engage in sexual activity. My strategy in asking about "willingness," rather than consent, was not to claim understanding or knowledge about consent based on participants' responses to inquiries about willingness. Rather, I used the language of willingness to interrogate the ways that YAJs understand the communication process involved in negotiating casual sex.

You just know. Similar to the "it just happens" discourse discussed in the previous chapter, when asked about how YAJs understand their partner's willingness to engage in certain sexual activities, the initial reaction is to say that is easy to determine when someone is interested in casual sex—"you just know".

> *Teresa*: For the most part, I think you get kind of an impression from people if they really like you, like genuinely. I don't know. Like at least I can. I can tell if someone is looking at me and they want to have sex with me and someone who's looking at me cause they're interested in [getting to know] me.

Melanie: What's the difference?
Teresa: I can't explain that... It's like you just know.

Don: It's it's just because it's in the air and you both know where it's leading and stuff.

Laurie: Most of it went unsaid. We just, we just knew.

There is the sense that determining and communicating a willingness to participate in sex is taken for granted. This sense of "you just know" is attributed to external influences (eg. chemistry, biology), similar to the "it just happens" discourse, and absolves YAJs from the responsibility of inquiring into their partner's willingness to participate in sex. It also creates an environment where asking or verbalizing a request becomes unnecessary and taboo. Because it is expected that both partners "know" when the other is interested in sex, there is no point in asking about comfort levels or consent. When Anne asked her casual partner if he was really "okay with it", he reacted defensively and did not understand why she was asking the question. The presumption is that it should be obvious and she should be able to tell that he wanted to have sex. By asking about his comfort level, she was violating this belief that "you just know" when you are with someone who is interested in sex.

Almost all of the participants began discussions about determining willingness to engage in casual sex by suggesting that "you just know". When I asked them to elaborate and explain how they "just know," a few participants maintained that this knowledge was innate and communicated through inexplicable forces.

Agnes: You just know, like, it's really kind of bizarre like it's almost like it's a telepathic thing where you just, yeah, you're just in sync together and you don't even have to say the words.

Don: There's just the signals, you know, physiologically they say girls lips get red and that's why they're wear lipstick, to sort of like fake [arousal] that you sometimes see them blush, the colour will come to their face, they just seem more alive.

Laurie: I guess it's... Well, I guess it's all sort of chemistry and stuff really.

Larry: It's pretty tricky. I think it's chemistry. Unless you ask straightforward, hey let's go back to my place. And if she's interested, she'll say yes. Otherwise, you'll end up with a slap in the face, you know. Otherwise, sometime, yeah you just, you just look at each other and you just know, you know.

For these participants, the ways through which they "just know" are explained either by chemistry, biology, or telepathy. They do not suggest that the knowledge of someone else's willingness is tangible or decipherable. The closest that we can get to understanding this knowledge is to attribute it and innate biological function. These statements suggest that there is a reluctance to give up the "you just know" discourse and to question how this knowledge is acquired and where it comes from. Sex is constructed as a natural biological act, controlled by an innate sexual drive. By giving up the sense that this knowledge is easily and effortlessly acquired through chemistry or telepathy, participants must take some responsibility for their own actions and for interpreting the actions of their partners.

Thus, casual sex is constructed as innately consensual and mutual. Since both partners "just know" that the other is interested in sex, there is no risk that they would be continuing with the activity when it is not desired by both partners. As discussed by Nicola Gavey (2005), women engage in casual sex for a variety

of reasons some of which are completely removed from their own desires including compulsory heterosexuality, fear of being raped if they say no, or because they want to please their partners. Some participants' stories echoed those of Gavey's participants. They did not seem clear on whether or not they wanted to have sex.

Gwen: And then the girl would just; like lots of girls don't know how to just say no. Like they're like he won't like me if I say no or he won't...you know kind of thing, like. And usually, if you are going home with someone that you've just been with at the bar, it's not going to turn into a relationship anyway so who cares if he likes you or not, you know like? But a lot of girls think he won't like me if I don't have sex with him. And that's ridiculous because a lot of guys do respect a girl that's harder to get, I find. But....

Jane: I figured... because we hadn't had sex the night before I kind of figured that you know, nothing much was going to happen again, we were just gonna hang out and talk and whatever, because I thought he was one of the nice guys and he wouldn't want to do that but then, he locked the door and I kinda thought okay... but then we sat and talked for like half an hour and, we like, we had space between us, we weren't like all over each other, or touching each other we had a fair bit of space between each other, so I don't know, it was very strange night, I was a little intoxicated too so.

Melanie: Yeah, so then so you were under the impression then that it would be just talking until he locked the door.

Jane: Yeah, I kind of had an idea that things might progress but maybe they wouldn't... I didn't have any assumptions really.

Melanie: So then as things were happening, did you do anything to let them know like yet this is cool I'm okay with this or...

Jane: I kinda went with it. I'm sure if I'd said you know, no. He would've stopped... but I continued on, though.

Melanie: How did you communicate that you were willing to continue?

Jane: I think it just kind of happened.

Anne: Well I didn't say no or anything like that, like I just didn't, care at all, But I think a lot of girls, a lot of times it has happened to me too, is I didn't really want to have sex, but I didn't know what what else to do. So you just end up having sex.

Gwen, Agnes, and Jane all told stories about casual sex experiences where their desire, and even their willingness, to participate is absent. They did not question whether or not they wanted sex. Instead, they went along with what was happening. Anne stated it quite bluntly that she has had a lot of casual sex that she did not want, but that she just did not know what else to do. Jane connected her ambivalence towards sex with the "it just happens" discourse. She just went along with it and it just happened. Jane said that if she said no, then he would have stopped. By not saying no, she does not risk being in a position where he might not listen to her refusal, and thus risk getting raped.

By deploying the "you just know" discourse in a context where many women are engaging in sex when they feel ambivalent, or where they have not thought about what they want or do not want, the resulting sex is constructed as unproblematic and consensual. They both "just knew" that it was okay, so it must have been.

Overlaid onto this construction of willingness are gendered roles that expect men to initiate sex and women to respond to those initiations. Thus, it is only women's willingness that is questioned or of interest. Within this assumption, men are positioned within the male sexual drive discourse and are assumed to always want sex. Conversely, women act as the "gatekeepers" of sexual activity by refusing or accepting invitations for sex.

While Agnes and Stacy both suggested that both partners "just know" when the other is willing to have sex, important to their understanding of this construction is the context in which the casual sex takes place.

Agnes: So I would say you just know, because... you're at a point where if you didn't, what else would there be, you know? If you don't have sex, then why are you doing this on the dance floor and getting it on, and groping each other. So it's almost like it's expected, yeah, I think that's what I'd say it is. It's almost expected of you.

Stacy: I think that it was like obvious; not obvious but it was like, the relationship was more sexual than anything else. That's all I was really interested in you know, like I wasn't looking for another relationship. My God! You know. I just got out of one.

According to Agnes and Stacy, the context played an important role in the interpretation of behaviours to indicate sexual interest. Each of them mentioned that the relationships were purely sexual; there was no other reason for their interaction with the men. Agnes talked about the expectation of sex. She was specifically referring to behaviour in bars and, according to her, there is no reason why she would participate in 'groping' on the dance floor if she is not interested in sex. At the same time she says that by participating in those activities in bars, sex is expected.

Stacy, was not interested in starting a relationship and was only interested in engaging in casual sexual activity. Therefore, she presumed that both she and her partner were willing to have sex—there was no other reason why he would go home with her. She compared this to a developing relationship. For her, it was more difficult to gauge the willingness of a man she just started seeing because there could be many reasons why they would spend time at his house, and even many reasons why she might spend the night with him.

Stacy: The guy that I'm seeing now like, he doesn't know anything about me sexually. You know. But he does know that I like him. That I've had a crush on him all summer. And that you know, I get nervous and giddy around him, you know what I mean? So he; like that has nothing to do with shagging him at all. You know? So he might think that I just want

to like... he could very easily think that I'm the kind of girl that wants to like lie in bed all night and talk and cuddle and kiss him on the cheek and go to sleep you know. Whereas with the other guys, like it was; there was no dating. There was no I have a crush on you all summer. There was no I can't believe this was happening. I'm so nervous. It was like, you know, we're drunk, let's go back to your room. So they're like no, she doesn't want to lie in bed all night talking, you know, have a cuddle, a kiss on the cheek. You know I think that they assumed more...because like that's all it was. Like it was, it was a physical relationship.

For Stacy, the relationship context is very important in determining when it is acceptable to assume that she and her male partners are interested in sex. In particular, the absence of a prolonged period of romantic interest prior to going out with them is an indication that she is just seeking sex. For Agnes, particular behaviours in a bar outside of a relationship are also indicative of this willingness to have sex. There was no other reason to pursue these relationships.

Linked to assuming someone's interest in casual sex from dancing and kissing on the dance floor was the expectation that women, in particular, would bluntly turn down a man if she is not interested in sex. There was no middle ground for simply talking to someone or getting to know them.

Laurie: I guess if I was into it I would totally flirt and I might like you know, I guess I'd just put a lot more effort into talking with them or whatever. If I'm not interested I would just totally try to avoid them, really.

Anne: I think you have to be pretty... cause you're not using words right, and you can't talk that much, so I think it's just, you have to be very... if you're not interested no eye contact and turned away and no talking, or like yes or no answers and if you are interested like, turn towards, eye contact.

As soon as a woman knows that she does not want casual sex, she is expected to make it obvious by avoiding conversation, not looking at the man and providing really short answers to any questions. In the bar setting, there is

not a lot of space for meeting people and getting to know them. Some women feel it is necessary to exaggerate their disinterest in having sex in order to get their point across. For example, one woman that I spent time with at the bar once told a man that she and I were lesbians because he would not leave her alone and was trying to get her to go home with him. While women are aware of what they do when they are definitely not interested in a particular man, the men are also aware of these signals.

James: A little turn away or, you'll fire questions at them, and they'll be like "yep" or not answer them. They won't engage your conversation.

Steve: I've never really felt....that...I was invited to and then like as a, some guy or people refer to as a cock tease. They get into the moment and then say no. I've never been in that situation before. It's always usually been okay yeah, we can keep going or it's a no right off the bat.

Colin: Body movement. The way that they; the way they stand, where they stand, how they stand. What they do with their hands. If you can read body language, then you're in. Um...
Melanie: Can you give me some examples?
Colin: If they lean; if they're close to you or if they're like hesitant. Or if they're like leaning on a back foot, sort of leaning away from you, then it's not a good thing. If they're not afraid to touch you; like whether it be your arm or whatever or your hair, whatever it is, then that's always a plus. If they're like standing with their hands behind their back and they're shy and they don't want to talk to you either they're intimidated by you or they're just repulsed by you.

This is not to say that all women followed this pattern. While observing in bars I noticed several "couples" on the dance floor intertwined and kissing for most of the evening. At the end of the night some of the men and women went their separate ways. In one particular instance I know that the man was pretty disappointed as he had expected the woman to go home with him. He told me earlier that he was looking for someone to go home with him (for sex). It looked

like he had found a woman to have sex with because they spent the remainder of the evening kissing on the dance floor. I was surprised to see her leave with her friend at the end of the night, leaving him to go home on his own. I also heard stories about some women who were kissing and dancing with men at the bar. Then at the end of the night, they said that they had a boyfriend so they could not go home with them.

Women who choose to engage in some sexual activity at the bar, but then refuse to transition to a more private location for sex violate this expectation that if women are not interested it will be overtly demonstrated. As a result they risk being labeled as a "tease" or more specifically a "cock tease". There is the assumption by both men and women that once certain behaviours are engaged in (kissing on the dance floor for example) men expect sex to follow. Thus, women who violate this expectation and indulge their own desires for kissing or certain sexual behaviours while refusing to engage in sexual intercourse are constructed as "bad girls" that "tease" men. This label and the accompanying construction of women as "teases" serves to further regulate and control women's behaviour. As a result (as discussed previously) many women will refuse any contact with men whom they are not at least potentially interested in having sex with.

The expectation by both men and women that women will quite bluntly show disinterest in an interaction or a particular man helps to reinforce the "you just know" discourse. If there is no blunt refusal of sex then it is expected that the women are interested in engaging in sex. On the one hand, men "just know"

that women are interested because they have not refused to engage in conversation or dancing. Conversely, women know that men are interested because of the presumption of men's perpetual sexual desire as understood through the male sexual drive discourse (Holloway, 1984a).

Date rape education and consent – "no means no". The 'no means no' campaign has been very successful in influencing popular perceptions regarding sexual violence and sexual consent. This effect is evident in YAJs' descriptions of how they determine that their partner is interested in sex as well as their definitions of consent. Almost all respondents used this discourse at some point during the interview. Typically, it was after probing from me regarding how they "just know" that their partners are interested in having sex with them. In response to the question about how YAJs express interest in sex or how they read their partner's interest, most responded with the suggestion that if the partner does not say "no" then the assumption is that they want to have sex. In general men used this discourse exclusively to talk about their partners signs of disinterest.

Robert: But if somebody, you know, isn't ready or is not prepared or whatever, then, then they can stop halfway through. They can stop you know, instantly with kissing. Like, "no I have a boyfriend", "I can't do this" or you know, like, kind of like that is so; I think for that to not be a go is you know, the main thing, "I don't have protection, we can't have sex". I don't know. Or just "I'm not comfortable with this arrangement". But it's, I think it's mostly verbal. Like just spoken if you are into it or not after the initial like make out or whatever.

Melanie: Okay. So it's verbal. Like the ones you've mentioned is like verbally saying that they're not into it or not comfortable. How do you know if they're comfortable with it?

Robert: Like I think if they weren't comfortable, then they would say. Or like the way that their body is or whatever. You know, I think if you're tense and not you know like you can tell it's not something that's going good or whatever. But yeah like, from my experience, if those are

ever a problem or whatever, then there's always spoken like, cause I really believe like if, if there's nothing said and everybody keeps making out and keeps continuing everything, like both parties probably assume that it's going well.

Melanie: And once you start kissing how are you aware of when to, or that the other person is willing to move onto other sorts of activities?

John: Umm yeah well you know like, obviously you know, like, if you're casually kissing, and suddenly... they'll sort of pullback or sort of move their hand in or something else like that, take a gasp of air or you know, suddenly stop kissing just for a slight moment. But ahh, for the most part it's pretty obvious, you know if you or the other person is willing to move on, so yeah...

When I asked Robert and John to describe how they know when their partner is comfortable or willing to progress to other types of sexual activity, their immediate reaction was to talk about indications that their partner is not interested or uncomfortable with the activity. Robert relied on primarily verbal signals, verbal signals that are consistent with the "no means no" message. He does not expect women to say no directly, but rather expects them to make an excuse when they are not interested in participating in casual sex. His descriptions of refusals are consistent with the refusal signals described by women in Kitzinger and Frith's study (1999).

John focuses on nonverbal indications of refusal or discomfort with the sexual activity. "No means no" in that once there are any signs of discomfort, whether or not they are expressed verbally, it is a sign that a woman does not want to continue. Even when I specifically asked how Robert and John knew their partner was interested in casual sex, they deferred to instances when they could tell that a woman in not interested in sex. For them, no means no because in the absence of indications of refusal or disinterest, interest is assumed. Thus,

acquiescence or participation in unwanted sex due to feelings of obligation or fear is obscured by this dichotomy. Additionally, they assume that they are picking up on all women's signs of discomfort, when it may be possible that they are only picking up on more obvious signs.

Women also use this discourse quite frequently; however they use it primarily to discuss their own experiences and expressions of (dis)interest in casual sex. I asked Gwen what she did to let a partner know she was interested in sexual activity. She said, "I didn't back off. Like I wasn't shying away from it at all. So....that's about it. I don't know. I wasn't like no, I don't want to do this." Similarly Jane said "Yeah, if I was feeling, nervous about it or had any doubts, I would be like, no, I wouldn't do it... because that's not cool" and Laurie said "if you're tense and uncomfortable, that's a no. If you're relaxed and into it, that's a yes."

Women too, deferred back to signals of disinterest when I asked them how they demonstrate their interest in casual sex. However, women's descriptions of their behaviour were more vague than the descriptions from men. They suggest generally that they do not engage in sex if they do not want to, or that they "say no". They did not talk about specific refusal signals until I asked them how they would say "no" or demonstrate their lack of interest. Agnes said that she once told a man that she had a boyfriend. Anne said that she would "freeze up and pull way".

While men and women defined willingness by the lack of resistance behaviour, some were also able to describe in detail the types of behaviours used to indicate resistance.

Stacy: If they stop; you know if they put their hands by their side and aren't touching you at all and you're just touching them, well that's not a good sign at all, you know what I mean?.. But if they're still caressing you, if they're still into it, umm if you guys are kissing or you know what I mean? If, if it's all one sided, then seriously there's something going on, are you okay like? Is something going on, you know? And, and that would be big time. If someone's doing something I didn't want them to do, but I was too scared to say anything, I wouldn't be rubbing his back and nibbling on his ear, you know? I'd, I'd be scared. My hands would be by my side. I'd be not breathing much probably you know? Like that's pretty obvious. You know?

Colin: Well it's like okay, I'm going for it, I'm going for it, I'm going for it. Okay I've got it. She didn't do anything. Okay.

Both men and women identified cues that indicate that someone is uncomfortable. These cues were subtle, and included things like becoming tense or stiff, pulling away slightly, or even "stop kissing for a slight moment". These cues came up consistently in my interviews and in some informal conversations with people in bars. One man suggested that it is easy to tell if someone is uncomfortable because they become unresponsive and have a stiff body. He went on to say that anyone with a "shred of empathy or perception" should be able to tell when someone else is uncomfortable.

Not only were the cues YAJs identified quite subtle, YAJs also suggested that these cues were obvious and very easy to read, especially in the context of sexual activity, where partners are in close proximity. While a few people talked specifically about "saying no", more common were discussions about behaviour that suggested discomfort as indications of a lack of willingness. The lack of the

use of the word "no" is consistent with what Kitzinger and Frith (1999) found. The young women they interviewed talked about refusing sex in many different ways, most of which did not include the word "no". Kitzinger and Frith, however, were interested exclusively in verbal negotiations and did not examine nonverbal ways of "saying no" or expressing a lack of willingness to continue. They argue that since men and women have both demonstrated competence in understanding refusals to other social invitations it is inadequate for men to claim that they do not understand a women's refusals.

The men I spoke with provide further evidence to support Kitzinger and Frith's (1999) argument. Not only were men and women able to identify verbal forms of disinterest or refusal, but they described subtle forms of nonverbal refusals. These nonverbal signals are considered to be obvious and easy to interpret. These men and women are articulating these cues in the context of casual sex; they do not know their partners well enough to read their unique body language and they are typically intoxicated when engaging in casual sex.

Ehrlich (1998) discusses the criteria that women must demonstrate they have resisted adequately to convince disciplinary tribunals that they have withdrawn their consent to participate in sexual activity. In these settings women are expected to bluntly and forcefully resist sexual advances in order to make their non-consent clear. The accused men claim that they were unaware that the sexual activity was not desired by the woman, unless she "showed strong resistance after each sexual advance" (p. 152). Again, the men that I interviewed were in tune with very subtle forms of resistance or non-engagement in the

sexual activity. Thus, it was more likely that men in Erhlich's study did not pay attention to the refusal cues expressed by these women, not that they did not understand them.

Conducting an interview is an extremely different context than being the defendant in a disciplinary tribunal. In the interviews, I did not question men's interpretations of their partner's willingness; they were relatively free to talk about whatever issues they wanted to. It is easy to see how in a disciplinary hearing (compared to an interview) a man may be more likely to deploy what Ehrlich refers to as the "deficiency model of miscommunication", which suggests that the partners were misunderstanding one another, and in particular, that the man did not know that the woman was not consenting. Regardless of the man's awareness of the woman's discomfort and lack of consent, by using this model he is able to relinquish himself of responsibility.

This finding that men and women were able to easily identify discomfort in their partner is quite significant considering the popular belief that comfort levels and sexual desires (of women) are difficult to discern and thus not accessible to their partners. On the contrary, both the men and the women I spoke with quite easily articulated these differences.

Consistent with the "no means no" campaign, participants use this version of discerning willingness primarily to talk about women's interest in sex (how does this fit with the rest of the paragraph). The "no means no" campaign was targeted specifically to men, to let them know that there are many ways that women say no to sex and that any 'no' really does mean that they do not want to

participate, not that they actually mean 'yes'. The campaign assumed that it is always men who are initiating sex and who are forcing women to have sex they do not want and that it is always women's voices that are not being heard in sexual situations. This is also consistent with the male sexual drive discourse. It is assumed that men were always willing and interested in having sex, that men were not required to demonstrate their interest because it is already obvious. However, there was one woman who described knowing her male partner was willing to have sex through the use of "no means no".

Stacy: Well cause if, if, if I put his hand, you know my fingertip under his waistband and he kind of like, moves away and or just changes his behaviour, you know, or acts rigid or something or tenses up, you know that's all very obvious when you're in close quarters.

Similar to the way men discussed women's behaviour, Stacy talked about signs of discomfort to gauge her partner's comfort level. She is the only person who talked about men's signals of discomfort as similar to the signals that women were described as using. Other women who initiated sexual activity assumed that the men were willing partners or asked directly about whether or not they wanted to have sex.

Yes means yes. A third theme that arose out of discussions of willingness is the "yes means yes" theme. Unlike the "no means no", "yes means yes" is focused on behavioural cues that indicate that someone is willing to have casual sex, or is finding the sexual activity pleasurable. Some participants used the "yes means yes" theme when asked about how to determine their partner's interest in casual sex. Others were more reluctant to take up "yes means yes" and only started to identify it when I attempted to clarify their position regarding the absence of

resistance behaviours. Often I would say something like "so you talked about the gasp or the pulling back or the stopping kissing, is it the absence of those that indicate going forward?" While a few participants said yes, that the lack of resistance is enough to signal interest in casual sex, the vast majority said no and indicated that there are many positive signals that someone is interested in having sex with them.

John: Ohhh, ahhh, that's really interesting, I never really thought about it like that before you know, like is it the absence of rejection that indicates acceptance or is it the actual sort of acceptance that indicates more acceptance, umm combination of both ahh certainly umm certainly if there is sort of, umm, a lot of holding, pulling towards each other, and a lot, of you know sort of rapid hand movements wherever, umm that it's a clear sign of acceptance that you're going to move on.

Julie: Well there's all the like, you kiss and after your heart starts beating more so you press yourself towards the body of the other person. When you press your body to someone else's body, there's a feeling of urgency. The more you press your bodies together, your breath accelerates, and if you get excited the other person is going to get excited.

Melanie: And then when you, when you are making out? How do you know that she's into it?
Colin: She's into it?
Melanie: Yeah.
Colin: When her tongue's in my mouth. The way they're breathing. Uh, where their hands are. Like if they're rubbing and stuff like that, yeah obviously

Pushing into their partner, pulling their partner closer, sighing, breathing and moaning were all listed by participants as ways to tell when their partner is interested in casual sex. Both men and women mentioned these as cues. Additionally, the way someone's breathing changes is considered to be important to determine a person's willingness.

Stacy: And also breathing. You can tell a lot by breathing.

Melanie: Breathing. What kind of breathing?

Stacy: I don't know, like. If, well if, if breathing changes, then he's probably really excited. You know what I mean? If he starts breathing quicker and stuff. So you can tell a lot of that too is when I'm doing something right, you know? Just in, in general, if you give him a massage or doing anything kind of sexual at all, you can tell a lot by breathing thing. But I think, but if, you know, and often with touching the waistband, kind of thing like you can tell they're getting really excited you know? But if they really tense up you know, and then no. But if it's like no, you can tell; I, I, I don't know how to explain it but you can just tell a lot by the way they breathe. For sure.

Don: [When you're making out] it is all about the girl's breathing, and that's like, a lot of guys don't realize that, but that's like, that's your like light signal that's your red, yellow, green, right there it's her breathing and just playing that off and so you just gradually sort of progress things forward to taking off clothes, you know kill the lights... And ah, so its generally you just keep progressing forward and... but at the same time you have to make sure they're comfortable, check the breathing and stuff like that , like generally once you take the girl's clothes off and stuff like that she will be a bit apprehensive and breathing will change a bit and you sort of play it by ear.

Melanie: So how will the breathing be different between the "I am really into this" breathing or "I am not so sure" breathing

Don: That's a like ... that's just human nature... so it's really hard to explain a girl's breathing but like if it is like panting or if it is like heavy, deep or if it is just like you know if it is off beat then it's horrible, but if there is a good beat and she is sort of slowly progressive and stuff like its just you just play it by ear. And it's just also body language too.

Both Stacy and Don talked about the importance of using someone's breathing as an indication that their partner is enjoying the experience. They also both talked about being able to differentiate between breathing that indicates discomfort and breathing that indicates interest and/or pleasure. Breathing together with other signals like how they are pulling their partner toward them, or moaning can help to let their partner know that they are willingly engaging in the sexual activity.

Almost absent in descriptions of the signals that women and men used to indicate their interest in and willingness to participate in sex was any discussion of physiological signs of arousal. There were two exceptions: Don described a woman's lips getting fuller as a sign that she is interested in him while they are at the bar, and Colin alluded to getting an erection as a sign of his willingness to engage in sex. He said "I'm a guy. I don't need to indicate anything. I usually take my clothes off when I get drunk. And so, that shows." There were no other mentions about men's erections, or about women's vaginal lubrication associated with arousal. This could be because participants may have found it difficult to articulate and talk about genitals, so they may also use those cues as indications of willingness. However, signs of physiological arousal can also happen during sexually violent sex and rape. Therefore relying on behavioural cues rather than physiological reactions may more accurately reflect the willingness and desires of sexual partners.

Similar to the "no means no" theme participants are able to identify very subtle behavioural changes that indicate that someone is enjoying sex, relaxed and comfortable. They read this as an indication that the person is willing to participate in sex—that they are enjoying themselves.

Date rape education programs that focus on the development of skills for women to say no assume that men and women have no access to their partner's willingness to participate or enjoyment of the sexual activity. They assume that if someone is enjoying sex, it is not possible for their partner to get a sense of

this—that the only way to tell if someone is interested in sex was to make sure that they are not resisting it.

Participants suggested that they do have access to their partner's comfort level; they can tell when their partner is relaxed and when they are enjoying sex. By switching to this belief, it is no longer possible for men (and women) to claim that they did not know that their partner was not consenting—it becomes their responsibility to explain how they believed that their partner consented.

The most common way for participants to read another's desire is by paying attention to small cues (listed above) for the duration of the sexual activity. However, some participants mentioned key transition steps along the way that are sometimes considered markers of someone's willingness to engage in casual sex. According to Tim an important part in determining if a woman is willing to have sex with you is to see if she is willing to go home with you. He suggested that making the decision to go home with someone is a euphemism for having casual sex. However, Tim also mentioned that it is "less crass" and it provides the woman with an out; she does not have to verbalize that she is willing to have sex. This allows women to maintain their "good girl" status and for men to appear less forceful. When a woman admits openly that she is willing to have casual sex she risks casting herself as a "bad girl", so by maintaining a sense of vagueness about the interaction, she is allowed to maintain her good girl image. Other women and men also talked about the importance of the transition to a more private location.

Julie: Well, when I said "so, are you coming back home?" He understood right away. It wasn't so, do you want to come home and play cards... he

understood, we were kissing when I said that, it was pretty obvious... yeah, but that's always enough, I've never...yeah I think it's just. If you're really close to somebody and you whisper in their ear "do you want to come home" they'll just get it.

Jane: OK umm... I think it's like an unspoken, unspoken something I don't know what you would call it, but if you're going to go home with somebody after the bar, than it's just kind of a given that you're going to sleep with them I guess... so I think that going home with somebody is really giving them the go-ahead that.... Yeah, I like you and let's have sex, because otherwise why would you go home with them? Drunk. That is. If you are sober and you went out for dinner and then you guys went home and watched a movie and fell asleep, that's different. But when you're drinking that's different.

Gary: Yeah. Like at closing time. Then you're sort of; like I don't think; sometimes it's, you, you leave early but that's usually when you're both really revved up, you know. And, I mean it's obvious that that's what you guys are going to do, then you take off and go somewhere. But normally, it's the end of the night. Cause I mean, even if, even if you're both pretty sure that other one's interested in, in getting together, there's still kind of that awkward like oh, I don't know if I should really make that point of no return move. (chuckles) Like go, do you want to go somewhere? It's pretty obvious. But at the end of the night, you know, it's a lot easier.

Julie, Jane and Gary talk about the importance of going home with someone when it comes to communicating a willingness to have sex. For all three of them, this is a clear indication. Jane called attention to the importance of the context in interpreting an invitation to someone's house as an agreement to have sex. This is only valid during times when both people are drunk and are at a bar. Otherwise it is possible to go to someone's house watch television and fall asleep without engaging in sexual activity. Once again the context of the bar plays an important role in how actions are interpreted.

While making the transition to a quieter place is often viewed as an indication of a willingness to engage in casual sex, many participants reported

that there is always room for someone (usually the woman) to change her mind or set boundaries. According to Tim "you never really know for certain until you get the butt lift."[8] Gary mentioned that he can never be sure that she is willing to have sex until they are actually having sex. Up until that point he assumes that there is a possibility that she might not want to have sex, or might change her mind. When the man that Laurie was with took a condom out of his pocket on the way home in the cab, she took that as a declaration that he was interested in having sex. The gesture likely also demonstrated that he wanted to make sure that she was aware of his desires and to ensure that she too wanted to have sex. These transition stages are all part of the "yes means yes" discourse reflecting that willingness to have sex is communicated by positive steps demonstrating that someone is interested in participating in sex, rather than the absence of resistance or refusal behaviours.

Constructing consent

Toward the end of the interviews I asked participants directly about consent, how they define it and how people consent to heterosexual casual sex. In many ways their answers were similar to their descriptions of the communication of willingness to have sex, except that they did not use the phrase "you just know" to describe consent. Instead, their descriptions of consent fell within the "no means no" and "yes means yes" themes.

---

[8] The butt lift is when a woman "lifts her butt" so the man can take her underwear off.

No means no. Despite the interim discussion regarding behaviours and signals of interest, most participants referred back to "no means no" to define consent. Consent was consistently defined by its opposite—refusal or resistance, the absence of which would indicate consent. Throughout the interview Steve discussed many different ways that the women he has had sex with let him know that they are interested in sex through the use of positive signals. When I asked him about consent, he deployed the "no means no" discourse by saying "I guess consensual sex is just when the girl doesn't say no." A few other men and women gave similar responses. Tim and Colin suggested that in order to have sex, it is necessary to remove a woman's clothing and it is easy to tell when a woman does not want her clothes removed, so consent is getting her clothes off. Gary said that the absence of a negative behaviour is consent.

Stacy: Well one, way people consent and I don't know if this is politically correct or not, is by not saying no. You know what I mean? Like you know just stop...

Anne: And she didn't know...how to say no, kind of like, so it was consensual, but it was still like fucking rape a lot of the time, like it was not, like she didn't want it, but she couldn't, she just didn't know how to say no, like I don't know if she needed to be taught something like that, or you, you probably have to have enough self worth.

These participants all suggested that consent is the absence of refusal or resistance, whether it is a woman's refusal to get undressed or by not saying no. Stacy seemed a little uncomfortable with this construction of consent because she suggested that it might not be politically correct. She is aware of counter-constructions that suggest that "not saying no" is not enough to obtain consent.

Anne answered a question about the definition of consent by discussing the experiences of a friend of hers. She suggests that because her friend did not say no she consented, even though she labeled her friend's experiences as rape. Anne suggests that women should be taught how to say no to prevent these experiences. Her attitude toward consent and rape prevention echoed many rape prevention strategies that attempt to teach women to be more assertive in order to prevent sexual assaults: making it women's responsibility to prevent or avoid unwanted and potentially violent sex. This too fits within the "no means no" theme. If women do not know how to say no, they may be consenting to potentially harmful sex; therefore, we must teach women to say no, so they will not be sexually assaulted. These strategies have been highly criticized recently for placing emphasis on women's behaviour and for failing to recognize the ways that women do refuse sexual activity (Corcoran, 1992; Frith & Kitzinger, 1997).

Yes means yes. The "yes means yes" theme is also used to describe sexual consent. This theme was used most frequently to define what sexual consent meant to the participants. One man said that "consent is participation" another said that "consent is the butt lift".

John: Give consent for casual sex.... um usually it's pretty easy, it's either, you're making out pants are off and one or the other will say um "do you have a condom" and if the other says yes or if I say yes, then it's obvious. But if one says, "they're someplace around" or "I don't think that I have any," or if I say the same, and the other person says "I've got some, then it's an obvious sort of consent.

Melanie: Yeah. So how do people consent to casual sex?
Larry: Well sometime we can say it like let's go back to my place.
Melanie: So when I say let's go back to my place, then that's consent for sex?

Larry: I think yeah, I would say. Like if say you're at the bar; I meet you at the bar and I say well you know, I'm going to pay the bill and say what about you, you come back to my place for a few more drinks? And if that person says yes, you know, I would say 99.9 percent you know. Or if you, you're walking down the street and you're cold, well I say oh get close to me and say can I; you know, you just get close to me, you know, like without even knowing each other or just holding hands or just you know. Or you can just kiss me too, you know. Like you know, like...it's uh...yeah, it's like consent. It's body language I would say.

According to these participants consent is about the active participation in casual sex. Participants discussed verbal and nonverbal behaviours that could be understood as indicating consent. And although participants did not mention that it is easy to read these signals, they still reported being able to read their partner's willingness and desire. For some women, while consent may be participation, agreeing or "letting" something happen, it is not about desire. Laurie said "consent is, umm, saying yes, allowing... something to happen, that you're allowing it to, you want it to."

Thus, consent for casual sex is defined as acquiescence. Laurie talked about allowing something to happen. This is reminiscent of the "no means no" version of consent because allowing something to happen means that she is not preventing it from happening, although it does not necessarily mean that she is taking steps to make it happen, or that she is participating fully. By constructing consent in this way, Laurie can retain her "good girl" status because she is not actively seeking out sex. While consent can be constructed as active participation in sexual activity, women are still required to negotiate the good girl/bad girl dichotomy which places certain restrictions on the ways that women can consent to casual sex.

Ambiguities and Contradictions

Most understandings of willingness to have casual sex and constructions of consent fall within the first three themes discussed in this chapter: you just know; "no means no"; and "yes means yes". These themes were not, however, neatly separated from one another as implied by the sections outlined in this paper. Participants' understandings of willingness and consent were often riddled with contradictions and ambiguities. Many participants used all three themes at different times to discuss how to determine willingness and consent to casual sex, sometimes even in the same sentence. These themes interact with one another to produce a complex, yet ambiguous, understanding of consent.

In many parts of her interview Anne highlighted the difficulty in understanding or articulating willingness and consent to casual sex.

Anne: Well I didn't say no or anything like that, like I just didn't, care at all, But I think a lot of girls, a lot of times it has happened to me too, is I didn't really want to have sex, but I didn't know what what else to do. So you just end up having sex, and that's I mean it's consent because you're allowing it to happen, you're just not really enjoying it... I think yeah a lot of it has to do with probably power, and females deciding what's okay and what's not okay and then you can get more clear, like a clear line drawn about what is like yes I was okay with it or I was not okay with it because, cause if it is blurry in your head then how how's it supposed to be clear on like in law or on paper or. But then I guess you have to have like law that they could say I said no and I was, like I was opposed to it and then that would be rape right?

Anne talked a lot about casual sex she had where she consented but did not want to have sex. She had sex because she did not want to say no, because she wanted to cuddle or because she did not know what else to do. Thus, sex becomes the cost of obtaining the physical intimacy that she desires including cuddling and kissing. At other times in her interview she talked about other

women she knew who felt the same way about most of their casual sex experiences. Anne defined her experiences as consensual yet unpleasant and she said that she regretted many of them.

Anne: And I've had a lot of sex where I've like totally regretted it the next day. Like casual encounters, but I would, and it was very negative, and it got to the point where you're having sex, and you get to the point where you have it and you almost just want to get it over with. And I wouldn't consider it not-consent, but I wouldn't consider it positive like, by that point I'm just like, whatever, let's just get this over with, you know what I mean?

Anne is not the only participant who talked about regretting some of her sexual experiences. Stacy too talked about regretting one of her experiences.

Stacy: But....yeah. If I had to like scrap one from my list, it would be him cause it was too soon, you know. But, I definitely consented for sure but I regretted it afterward that I consented. But...yeah, I don't know how people consent. I think a big one is just by not... by letting it happen. You know what I mean? And of course, if someone's scared or, you know that doesn't count. If they're just letting it happen, and if they feel threatened, then that's not consent you know.

Stacy also articulated some ambiguity about consent and willingness to participate in sex. In this quote, she talks about consent as "letting it happen" unless someone is scared or feels threatened. These two responses are unique because by attempting to define consent, they are beginning to tease out some of the ambiguity and uncertainty about what consent means.

John also struggled with some of the ambiguity related to defining consent; at one point in the interview he said that "it's really hard to know, but so obvious" to tell when someone is willing to have casual sex. He elaborated further by saying:

John: Acceptance for all casual sex would be, umm, I or they're placing hands on various parts of your body and either saying through non- sort of

> nonverbal, like just accepting, you know, type of thing, or not withdrawing, and I don't know so, yeah so getting back to, how do you identify when casual sex has happened, if it's through the sort of acceptance and or non-objection... so in a broader sense of non-objection or something else, it's kind of more challenging, but there is an equal part of not objection and progression for each other.

John uses the word "acceptance" to indicate that someone has agreed to have casual sex. He tried to articulate how to tell when someone is accepting sex. He started with the "yes means yes" theme when he said that they are "placing hands on various parts of your body". He then went into the "no means no" theme when he said that they do not withdraw. Then he talked about acceptance and non-objection. So, for John determining when someone is willing to engage in casual sex is about a combination of "no means no" and "yes means yes".

When talking about willingness to have sex and consent, Ian contradicted himself during the interview. I asked Ian if leaving the bar with someone means that they are going to have sex and he said no even though most of the time it does lead to sex. Later on in the interview he said:

> I may come up to you and start talking to you and see what you're doing, go to an after party? And you say no, I don't really feel like going to an after party but I might get some off sales and go to my house and drink. That's basically as much consent as you're gonna get.

Both comments were made in reference to determining consent for casual sex. In the second comment, he is constructing consent as "yes means yes", but in reference to a specific request. This is similar to another participant who said that asking someone to go home with you is a euphemism for having sex. Once it is determined that two people are going home together the assumption is that

they are going to have sex. At the same time, in Ian's first comment he recognizes that sex does not happen every time that two people leave the bar together. Therefore, if there is an assumption about casual sex when two people leave together, one person (likely the woman) would have to withdraw her consent at some point if she does not want to engage in sex.

The "no means no" and "yes means yes" themes work together to create understandings of willingness and consent to casual sex. Some participants rely more heavily on one or the other, but almost all participants mentioned aspects of both. The "you just know" theme operates to absolve women and men of responsibility for having casual sex, and for understanding their partner's willingness to engage in casual sex.

Concluding thoughts

YAJs articulated various ways that they can determine their partner's willingness and consent to have sex, as well as describing their own methods for communicating their willingness to their partner. When talking about willingness to have sex and consent, there was the overwhelming impression that men's willingness is assumed and that women's willingness must be deciphered through subtle nonverbal cues. Participants often resorted to saying that "you just know" when someone wants to have sex with you, thus relinquishing them of the responsibility to check in with their partner or question their willingness. When participants did talk about behavioural indications of willingness, they often referred to a lack of refusal or resistance behaviours first of all and secondly discussed positive signals that demonstrated someone's willingness. The way

that both women and men discussed these subtle behaviours suggests that they both have developed some literacy of the cues used to indicate consent and willingness to participate in sex.

Constructions of consent are closely linked to sexual violence and legal understandings of consent. Many participants described sexual consent as a version of the "no means no" discourse popular with violence prevention strategies. Yet, many participants described consent through positive behaviours used to indicate interest in sexual activity. In the next chapter, and throughout this project, I argue that sexual violence prevention strategies should begin taking these understandings into consideration through their prevention efforts.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Discussion

This project began with a personal motivation—impetus that stemmed from my work as a sexual assault educator. This journey is important to visit here because my activism and education work were intertwined with a large network of other young activists striving to end sexual violence. I presented to thousands of youth in the Edmonton area about sexual assault and dating violence and presented to hundreds of fellow activists at conferences. My ideas were shaped by many other activist projects and I, in turn, participated in shaping the "movement to end sexual violence". As an executive member of SpeakOut: The North American Student Coalition Against Campus Sexual Violence and student representative at an international conference, I spoke of these issues from the student perspective and as a representative of the student movement. Thus, while this work is intensely personal, it is importantly political and connects to a larger body of activists and educators. In this section I speak from my personal experience because I cannot speak for all student activists; however, these insights have implications not only for me personally, but for the broader social movement and prevention strategies.

This was a project born out of frustration—frustration with a lack of understanding of "consensual" sex and the ambiguous ways of talking about consent. For me, it seemed counter-intuitive that while sexual assault was defined as sex without consent there was so little information regarding how

consent is defined and how to understand consensual experiences. There were many debates regarding how to tell if sexual assault has happened, or how to determine if and when there was an absence of consent in the classrooms where I facilitated workshops, and within the legal and sexual violence literature. It struck me as strange that so many discussions were taking place about determining when consent was absent without any understanding of how to determine if consent is present. In order to develop a thorough understanding of sexually violent and coercive situations, we must also understand sexually non-violent and non-coercive experiences.

This task proved to be more difficult and convoluted than I originally anticipated (and I anticipated it to be quite convoluted). Nicola Gavey (2005) discusses a "complex gray area between what we might think of as mutually consenting sex, on the one hand, and rape or sexual coercion on the other" (p. 136). As a sexual assault educator I believed there was no gray area, that to suggest a gray area was both to deny women the right to speak of certain harmful experiences as violent and to fail to recognize the breadth of sexually violent experiences. Of course, there were times when women regretted having sex, but these experiences fell firmly on the side of consensual sex and were not a concern to me, at least not a concern related to *violence* and *coercion.*

My views have changed considerably since I left my position at the sexual assault centre and all but abandoned my activist work. I am no longer confident that a clear understanding of the division of violence from "consensual" sex is possible, or perhaps even desirable. I am interested in the "spaces in between"

consensual and so-called unproblematic sex, and violent or coercive sex, as well as the construction of (women's) sexual desires and willingness to participate in sex, and consent to sex. In this chapter I will summarize my analyses and discuss the implications of this work for understandings of heterosexual casual sex, consent, and possibilities for date rape education programs. It is not my intention to generalize these understandings to other communities of young people beyond the context I investigated nor to casual sex in general. Rather, I use this work to open dialogue about possibilities for educational efforts and legal understandings. This work illuminates the complex ways that gendered discourses come together to produce various subject positions and silencing (or at least rendering quite difficult) the production of alternate ways of relating.

The context—Jasper

Jasper, a quiet mountain town, is the socio-spatial context of my inquiry into heterosexual casual sex and consent: an environment with a reputation as an ideal place to engage in casual sex and as a place where there is a lot of casual sex. In many ways, this context facilitated my access to understandings of casual sex and consent. Due to the open and accepting environment many YAJs were open to talking with me about casual sex, either formally in an interview or informally in a bar or social gathering.

Several thousand young transient workers call Jasper their temporary home each summer, making it an ideal place for conducting a study on casual sex. For many of these young people, their time in Jasper is marked with adventure and freedom. Burrows and Olsen (1998) describe seasonal workers

as relatively young and away from home for the first time. They are also somewhat segregated from the rest of the community, due to their employment and accommodations. My experiences in Jasper echoed their reports, however many of the young residents socialize in the same bars as the seasonal workers and therefore present opportunities for LJs and SWs to get together for casual sex.

This atmosphere is consistent with other research on resort populations that suggests that there are higher rates of casual sex among SWs compared with residents (Hennick et al, 2000; Burrows & Olsen, 1998). Within Jasper there is an acceptance of casual sex and an expectation that most people in Jasper will engage in casual sex during their time there. HWY contributes to this view of Jasper. Their mandate is to encourage use of harm reduction techniques by handing out condoms and making dental dams and lubrication available free of charge. However, by handing out condoms and creating such a visual presence they perpetuate the belief that a great deal of casual sex takes place in Jasper.

Thus, the dominant construction of the seasonal worker in Jasper is of someone who enjoys going to bars, drinking and engaging in casual sex. The expectation is that everyone in Jasper engages in casual sex and Jasper is constructed as an easy place to "get laid". Of course, not everyone in Jasper engages, or wants to engage casual sex. However, those who do not want to have casual sex must actively position themselves outside of the dominant construction of SWs by making it clear very early when meeting others that they are not interested in casual sex. Some SWs are able to do this by talking about

their continuing relationship with someone who is still living in their home town. Others stay within a small group of friends and avoid meeting new people when they are at the bar.

Most YAJs perceived that the acceptance and expectation of casual sex in this context is different from the way that casual sex is often taken up in other contexts. There seemed to be less of a double standard, as both men and women were encouraged to engage in casual sex. A few of the men mentioned that they were (pleasantly) surprised at forward and sexually assertive the women in Jasper are.

Eiser and Ford (1995) argued that attitudes and behaviours can change when people enter a new environment and they refer to this as situational disinhibition. This is consistent with my observations of youth in Jasper and in the conversations with YAJs. Jasper is viewed as a unique place, a place that is safe for people to engage in casual sex and do things they may not feel comfortable doing at home. I say 'safe' because there is no connection to their previous life, or the life they will have once they leave. They are away from their friends and families. It is a socially safe space to explore your sexuality (within certain confines).

Discourses of heterosexual casual sex

When negotiating casual sex YAJs take up subject positions similar to those identified through Hollway's (1984a) description of dominant heteronormative discourses. The male sexual drive discourse is perhaps the most influential in creating the predominant subject positions available to women

and men. Men are often positioned as always wanting to engage in casual sex. One participant said it was "inevitable" that he would have casual sex during the summer and another said that any man who says he is not interested in casual sex is lying. All the men I interviewed and had informal conversations with positioned themselves within this discourse. Some men were quite active in pursuing casual sex. They looked for women when they were at bars and altered their behaviour in an effort to increase women's interest in them. Other men were less active and talked mostly about experiences when women initiated some contact or when they "just happened" to find a woman they were interested in.

In addition, many men preferred engaging in sex with tourists rather than other YAJs. Men are concerned about ensuring a "no strings attached" sexual experience, and also mentioned that no one else would know if they had sex with tourists, there is less chance that word would get around. This also fits within the male sexual drive discourse—not only are men seeking sex, but they are resistant to becoming involved in a committed relationship and thus becoming objects of the have/hold discourse.

According to Hollway's (1984a) description, women are the objects of the male sexual drive discourse. In Jasper, women often position themselves within the permissive discourse (see Hollway, 1984a), where it becomes as acceptable for women, as men to engage in casual sex as long as they are participating in, and acting in ways consistent the male sexual drive discourse. Thus, while it is acceptable for women in Jasper to seek out and initiate casual sex, they cannot

be "too" assertive, or take control of the sexual experience, because that is viewed as being too "slutty". Also, it is expected that they participate in male versions of casual sex, meaning that sex includes intercourse. In this way, the male sexual drive discourse is related to what Jackson (1984a) refers to as the coital imperative. Tiefer (2004) expressed a similar idea that:

> Many people still believe that "sex is natural"—that is, that sex is a simple and universal biological function that, without any training, all humans should experience, enjoy, and perform in roughly the same way. (p.XIV)

Women also often position themselves within the have/hold discourse where women are looking to establish lasting and committed relationships. Many women said that one reason why they prefer engaging in sex with other YAJs is because then there is the potential for a relationship to develop. This is consistent with other studies which reported the reasons why women engage in casual sex (see Regan & Dreyer, 1999). However, popular ideas about how to begin a relationship with a man often include waiting to have sex, rather than engaging in sex on the first date. This will send the message that you are out to "capture his heart" instead of just out for a night of fun (see Fein & Schneider, 1988). Several women I interviewed said that they had a rule that they do not sleep with a man on the first date, waiting at least until the second date; however, this strategy often does not work for them because men stopped talking with them after having sex even on the second date. Two men also mentioned that if they are interested in a relationship with someone, then they waited before having sex. Thus, I found it surprising that some women mentioned engaging in casual sex to start a relationship.

In addition to the heteronormative discourses identified by Hollway (1984a) I argue that the YAJs also deployed what I label as the "it just happens" discourse. This discourse suggests that no one is responsible for initiating casual sex; rather there were simply natural urges that take over and result in the couple having sex. This discourse is related to the male sexual drive discourse because it also constructs sex as an innate and uncontrollable drive. However, it represents both male and female sexuality and in a sense both the man and the woman are objects of this discourse. Neither one is exerting power or deploying a sense of subjectivity.

Heterosex and power

The radical feminist critique of heterosexuality suggests that heterosexual relations are the primary means by which women's oppression is produced and reinforced (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1994; Jeffreys, 1990; Radicalesbian, 1970). Thus, many radical feminists argue that a form of political lesbianism, whereby women forego any and all sexual relationships with men, is the best solution toward ending sexist oppressions. Many feminists see this radical critique of feminism as essentialist and argue that men's patriarchal power is not monolithic, that women can and do have power within heterosexual relations (Allen, 2003; Hollway, 1984b). The women I spoke with were, with few exceptions, uncritical of the male-dominated discourses of casual sex. They were, however, able to carve out spaces of power; this included choosing partners, limiting and disrupting the masculinist sexual script, and taking up the script for their own purposes.

Men and women had the impression that more men than women are interested in engaging in casual sex, even though women in Jasper are viewed as more sexually assertive than women elsewhere. Thus, the impression was that they had a source of power over the men. This echoes some sexual script theorists that argue that women choose when a couple engages in sex (Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005; Laner & Ventrone, 1998; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992; Byers & Heinlein, 1989). They could afford to be more choosy. It is considered unlikely that a man would turn down a woman, while the reverse is considered quite common. The male sexual drive discourse is frequently reproduced and both men and women believe that men do not say no to sex. In some ways men see themselves at the mercy of women who are able to execute a certain level of discretion in choosing men. Men feel that they had limited options in choosing who they wanted to engage in casual sex with and were more likely to accept invitations that arose.

Women are aware of the coital imperative and some women report disrupting the script to engage in behaviours other than intercourse to get the sexual activity that they wanted. Some women tell their partners early that they do not want to have sex until they were married and verbally negotiate other forms of sexual activity. Others implied that they are having their period and therefore "cannot" engage in "sex". In order to alter the script and negotiate other forms of sexual activity, it is necessary for women to verbalize their limits early in the interaction to make it clear that intercourse would not take place. One woman subverted the dominant understanding of casual sex in Jasper by taking

an active role and a typically "male" subject position. She chose and pursued a man that she was interested in having casual sex with. Thus, women are able to carve out spaces of power within this context dominated by masculine ideals of casual sex and relationships.

However, many of the stories from women echoed stories that Gavey (2005) reported about women's experiences of unwanted sex. Many women are engaging in casual sex without desiring or really wanting it. They desire some sexual activity like kissing and/or cuddling and see having sex as the cost to obtain the sexual contact that they want. For example, some women said that it was sometimes just easier to engage in casual sex than refusing to have sex or that after engaging in certain other sexual behaviours (like groping on the dance floor) sex is expected.

Some women often speak with what Gavey referred to as the "discourse of missing desire". Through their stories, they often do not mention any desire to have casual sex or that they enjoy having sex. Rather, these women speak about having sex because it is expected or because they are looking for a longer romantic relationship with a man. Two women did talk about sex as fun and said that some nights they want to engage in sex, but this is less common.

Sexual script theorists argue that women have control with heterosexual relationships and determine when a couple engages in sex, while men must wait until they are granted access to sex. Radical feminist theorists argue that men control sex and that heterosexual relations are the site for the reproduction of sexist oppressions. I argue that power in heterosexual casual sex is not a simple

dichotomy, in which power is located exclusively with one gender. Through my analysis of the ways that YAJs talk about their casual sex experiences, it is possible to see how power within and control of heterosexual casual sex is not singularly allocated to men or to women. When talking using the "it just happens discourse" men and women both express a lack of control over casual sex, and suggest that the locus of control is located somewhere external to the dyad—in biological drives (for example). The dominant heteronormative discourses outlined by Hollway (1984a) are also operational among YAJs and highlight the way that heterosexual relations are constructed around men's sexual desires and leave little room for female desired sexual activities. However, within these discourses women locate spaces of power and control.

Constructing consent

This project began with a question about the definition of consent, what it is, what it accomplishes and how it is communicated. At the beginning I anticipated developing some sort of understanding of consent in order to answer these questions—something more definitive regarding what consent *is*. Unfortunately (or maybe fortunately) I feel as though I am further away from answering those questions. As an anti-sexual violence activist and educator I placed a large emphasis on the concept of consent as the defining feature of sexual assault. Thus, I felt it was important that people *know* what consent is, and what it is not, in order to communicate more clearly with their partners.

I am no longer convinced that consent is a concept of value in education work or for social understandings of sexualized violence. Understandings of

consent seem to be fully embedded within the legal discourse and defined by the law. It is no wonder that so many people hold vastly different views of consent when the legal codes in different jurisdictions also define consent in vastly different ways (as I discussed in Chapter Two).

Consent's tie to the law and date rape education is also evident in the ways that men and women talk about consent and revert to the "no means no" discourse around date rape. Consent is not a concept that YAJs are thinking about as they engage in casual sex; they do not question consent itself. Instead they are thinking about the comfort level of their partner (although not necessarily out of concern for their partner), wondering what they want to do, and trying to have a good time. Thus, consent as a legal concept does not translate into the narratives of adults engaging in casual sex, although it forms a necessary backdrop. Perhaps a shift in educational strategies away from talking about consent would improve the effectiveness of education. This type of education strategy could recognize the tacit knowledge that adults have about their interactions and communications with their partners to build more respectful relationships and to begin questioning the dominant heteronormative discourses that hide and cloud the issue.

Gendered nature of consent. In Chapter Two I argue that scholarly conceptions of consent are gendered—that authors assume that consent is something that women give to men. Participants in this study echoed this assumption. In the interviews, when I asked how participants' understood their partner's willingness and their own willingness, I made what it typically considered a interviewer

mistake by asking a "double barreled question". I asked them about their willingness and their partners' willingness at the same time. However, through this "interviewer mistake" it became possible to see who's "willingness" was worthy of description. Overwhelmingly, women began by talking about their own willingness and men began by talking about their female partner's willingness.

This contradicted my understanding of consent and willingness as something that both partners communicate and legal definitions of consent that are gender neutral. I expected both women and men to talk about their own communication of consent, as well as how their partners communicate consent. However, considering hegemonic discourses surrounding heterosex that suggest that men are always seeking sex and have an insatiable sex drive, it is possible to see how men's willingness is constructed as perpetual. Thus, through the male sexual drive discourse there is only the need to understand and interrogate women's ways of communicating willingness.

This gendered understanding also reflects the gendered nature of sexual violence. Many more women suffer violence at the hands of men than vice versa. Thus, public awareness campaigns and educational programs focus on women as potential "victims" and men as potential "perpetrators". Women are often taught how to communicate more clearly and assertively while men are taught how to pay attention to women's communication, and to dispel the myth that women "say no" when they mean "yes".

Previous research on consent behaviours divide the communication of consent into two distinct roles: one partner is the "initiating" partner and the other

partner is responding to the initiator (Beres et al, 2004; Hickman & Muehlendard, 1999). In these studies the roles of initiator and responder are not gender specific, although the construction of the surveys still assumes the presence of these distinct roles during sexual activity, leaving little space for the possibility of mutually initiated activities.

An empirical analysis of gendered practices of consent has not been undertaken in the scholarly literature and this is one of the major contributions of this project. Without explicitly recognizing that consent is often perceived as gendered, education programs have typically taken two approaches to discussing consent: either to discuss it through a legal understanding of consent and thus present it as gender neutral, or to assume a gendered division and talk about how men should read women's consent cues and women can "more assertively" communicate consent, or lack of consent.

By recognizing how consent is gendered both in popular understandings and in practices, it becomes possible to address this assumption within educational programs. Educators can discuss the inadequacy of a gender neutral understanding—it does not reflect hegemonic patriarchal power dynamics that influence sexual relations between women and men (and likely between men and between women). Simultaneously, educators can problematize the gendered assumption of consent and discuss ways of conceptualizing consent that do not reify stereotypical heteronormative discourses.

Consent as the absence of violence/coercion. When I asked YAJs to define consent they most often defined it by the absence of refusal or resistance

behaviour. They described ways of refusing or resisting sex and indications that their partner was uncomfortable or did not want sex. These descriptions included not allowing their partner to take their clothes off, withdrawing or becoming tense, and saying "no". Thus, sexual violence is defined as its opposite (consent), while sexual consent is also defined as its opposite (resistance). This circular reasoning renders consent almost meaningless as a concept for understanding sexual relations between women and men —sexual violence is then defined as sex when one partner ignores or overcomes the other partner's refusals and resistance behaviours. This is not consistent with the legal definition of consent and is laden with problems that feminist activists have been lobbying to overcome: the resistance requirement.

This finding is another major contribution of this project and highlights potential for change to education programs aimed at reducing incidents of sexual violence. Some current education programs focus on defining consent as an agreement to participate in sexual activity and/or use the Canadian legal definition of consent to inform participants of the meaning of consent. However, it appears as though many popular messages about consent remain imbedded within the "no means no" discourse. Feminists ought to take up a new approach to public awareness of consent, one that focuses on the importance of obtaining an affirmative response to indicate consent.

Communicating "consent". In addition to understanding what consent is, I am interested in understanding how young adults conceptualize consent and understand their communication of willingness to participate in casual sex, as

well as how they determine their partner's willingness. As with any research project, I deliberately entered with several assumptions. I was interested specifically in "consensual" experiences, using an intentionally broad understanding of consent. I asked about how the YAJs determined that their partner was willing to participate in casual sex and how they communicated their own willingness to their partner. The choice of the word "willingness" was deliberate. I chose not to use "consent" (at least not at the beginning of the interview process) because it is a legally and politically laden term. When I asked about "willingness" I assumed that the stories I was told were "consensual" stories, and not stories of violence or coercion.

So, now I turn my attention to one of the main questions of this project—how do partners know that the other is willing to participate in casual sex? For many YAJs their first inclination was to say that "they just knew", that somehow this knowledge is transmitted to them through "chemistry", telepathy or an innate biological sense. However, upon further probing, most participants were able to articulate subtle cues of communication. This in and of itself is quite important—the participants demonstrated knowledge about the subtle nonverbal behavioural cues and how to read their partner's body language.

Kitzinger and Frith, (1999) argue that men and women are able to understand refusals in everyday contexts and women report refusing sex in ways similar to other types of refusals. Thus, they argue that men should be able to understand sexual refusals. O'Byrne et al. (2006) built on Kitzinger and Frith's argument and demonstrate that men were able to articulate the subtle and

conventional ways that women refuse sex. I further this argument by suggesting that men can understand the difference between a refusal and acceptance of sexual activity. Men are able to articulate differences in the ways women behave when they are interested in sex and when they are not interested. These behaviours include breathing, tenseness or relaxedness of a woman's body, and the way they participate in the sexual activity. Men expect their partners to actively participate in sex. A lack of active participation is interpreted as an indication of discomfort, in which case they said they slow down, stop, or ask if their partner was 'ok'.

Women are also able to articulate similar ways of indicating their willingness to participate in casual sex and report many of the same behaviours and cues as did men. Thus, it is likely that men and women are meaning similar things when they discuss "willingness".

While I believe that the participants in this study demonstrated knowledge of systems of sexual communication, I must interpret this with caution. The stories I received were from one partner only, I was not able to see how the perspectives of the partner's differed in any one story. It is possible that what was defined as consensual by one participant was defined otherwise by their partner. During several interviews with men I found myself questioning how their female partners were feeling about the sexual experience. When I started reading some scholarly and activist work, I questioned my interpretation further.

Montagna (2000) talked about being an anti-rape educator and working exclusively with men. His initial question to men was how they knew that a woman wanted a kiss:

> which yields the typical stereotypes of our pop culture: "she looks at you in a certain way," "she moves closer to you," or some intricate combination in which she looks at you, then away, then down, then back at you. The irony is that many men take this as "yes" and never bother to ask what their partner may actually feel like doing. "If all this body language is in place, and you're telling me that you know she wants a kiss," I ask them, "then you have your answer. Where is the risk in asking?" (p. 186)

The behaviours listed by Montagna (2000) are similar to what I heard male participants saying when I asked them about how they know when a woman is willing to have sex. Montagna argues that this was not good enough and said that the men need to ask. While I fully support initiatives that encourage women and men to communicate more openly with their sexual partners, I am not convinced that this shift is a requirement for ethical and consensual sex. The women and men I spoke with are able to articulate subtle cues used to communicate willingness and they talked about the same cues. This leads me to believe that there is a possibility for a communicative model of sex based on nonverbal cues, that a verbal understanding is not required. However, I am not arguing a the purely nonverbal model of communicative sexuality. Rather I argue that instead of labeling their current communication strategies completely ineffective and attempting to radically change the ways that young people engage in casual sex, educational efforts should build on normative and conventional knowledge that young people already have about consent, and negotiating casual sex. Thus, educators must recognize the types of cues and

behaviours that women and men already use to indicate willingness (or consent) to their partner and encourage them to incorporate verbal behaviours into their sexual experiences—especially their casual sex experiences where there may be a greater chance of "miscommunication". There will likely be less resistance to this form of education because we are not suggesting that young adults are completely unaware of their partner's comfort level and desires and we are giving their tacit knowledge credit.

At a recent conference Brittain (2006) discussed a controversial date rape campaign that the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre used in 1998. As discussed in Chapter One, their poster campaign was based on the ironic slogan "how to rape your date". When I heard this I was struck by how similar this sounded to what some participants said: several men said that they lie to women to make themselves appear more interesting or flatter women and try to make them feel comfortable. While these men were talking about ensuring a woman's comfort, their concern was not for the woman or her comfort. Their goal in paying attention to her comfort level was to get what they wanted. They understood that if a woman was uncomfortable she would not be likely to want to have casual sex. If she were feeling comfortable she would be far more likely to have casual sex.

This example triggered a more uncomfortable reaction than Montagna's statement. Is it possible that these particular men were describing to me how they sexually assaulted their partners? In many ways their descriptions were quite similar to other men I spoke with and many women. This is an example of

one of the ways that issues of consent become conflated and highlights how dominant discourses of heterosexuality are closely tied to violence and domination of women. It makes it difficult to tell the difference between a "consensual" experience and a coercive experience. Similar behaviours may precipitate both coercive and non-coercive activities, and while these men appeared to at least pay attention to women's comfort levels, I cannot know how women felt about these experiences. In light of these examples, MacKinnon's argument that it is not possible for women to consent to sex with men within current patriarchal power structures becomes very persuasive (MacKinnon, 1989). While recognizing the patriarchal context that makes unencumbered consent impossible, I argue that women do find spaces of power and control even within heterosexual relations dominated by patriarchal discourses.

Still, I have to wonder if sexual violence educators are attempting to superimpose a communicative ideal onto sexual relations. While I certainly see the value in instructing men (and women) to ask their partners for consent and attempting to create social change that encourages partners to talk with one another, I cannot help but feel that educators are discounting some of the cultural knowledge regarding normative sexual scripts of consent. It is no wonder that education programs are not working if they are not recognizing the knowledge that men and women have about negotiating and communicating sexual interest and willingness.

While the prevalence sexual violence suggests there are serious concerns with heteronormative sexual relationships, I would argue we do not need to

radically change the way that people are engaging in sex. Cultural knowledge regarding sexual communication is largely hidden; we seldom talk about how we interpret partner's behaviours as indications of willingness. Often the most frequently discussed behaviours are public ones (clothing, behaviours in bars). This is unhelpful when it comes down to a sexual interaction and reinforces rape myths. I argue we need to further interrogate the ways that partners communicate sexually and discuss issues related to ethical sex in order to build on the cultural knowledge that is already in existence. By suggesting in the educational workshops given by Montagna (2000) that men do not know how to get consent, men are constructed as irresponsible sexual subjects, when my work suggests that they are acting upon widely understood cultural conventions used to agree to sexual activity. This may create resistance among workshop participants.

In hindsight, this was also a problem in the workshops I facilitated as coordinator of a sexual assault education program. In these workshops we argued that participants should move to a verbal form of sexual communication. This in itself is not problematic, although implicit in the workshop was the message that their current strategies were irresponsible and immature. This can place the participants in a defensive position, not very conducive to promoting change.

Similarly, Gavey (2005) argues that by instructing women to "say no" in obvious ways we are asking them to act in ways incongruent with norms of everyday conversation. The same could be said for accepting an exclusively

verbal negotiation of consent—it contradicts the normative ways of interacting sexually.

Perhaps the problem is that normative and conventional ways of communicating willingness and consent are unclear—at least that is the assumption made by date rape educators and many scholars. I argue that it is not that the communication is unclear and that we need to teach men and women to communicate about sex more overtly, but that we need to learn more about the different ways of communicating consent. I argue that men and women are likely quite aware of the subtle communication patterns; thus we need to start asking tougher questions of those accused of sexual violence and expect them too, to be able to interpret those cues. It likely is not a miscommunication; it is likely that the men who choose to rape do not want to hear the message and ignore it.

Carmody (2003; 2005) suggests that educators take a sexual ethics approach to date rape education. She found evidence that the adults she interviewed were practicing a sexual ethic, one that resembled Foucault's notion of ethics based on "rapport à soi". She suggests that date rape education should promote ethical ways of interacting, rather than focusing on refusal skills (Carmody, 2005). This could be a viable shift and present a way for educators to build on the knowledge and awareness that young people already have about communicating willingness to participate in casual sex, rather than attempting to create major social change and re-write the ways that people engage in casual sex.

In addition to implications for rape prevention education, this study also has legal implications. The Canadian Criminal Code is already progressive and requires that the defendant demonstrate that reasonable steps were taken to ascertain the victim's consent. This study demonstrates that young men and women can articulate and understand a variety of consent cues; thus, these results could be used to help inform standards for determining reasonable steps and for "willful blindness". For example, considering that men and women articulate similar ways of communicating disinterest and interest in sexual activity through subtle body postures, it seems reasonable to incorporate this knowledge into the reasonable steps criteria and expect accused perpetrators to be literate in these communication methods.

Concluding thoughts

This project began as an inquiry focused on consent to heterosexual casual sex, within the context of seasonal workers. Through this inquiry, I interrogated the ways that dominant heterosexual discourses impact how young workers in Jasper position themselves as active or passive subjects. While these discourses provide greater potential for male power, women produce spaces to exert power over their casual sex experiences. In addition, I questioned how people understand their partner's willingness to participate in casual sex and how they defined consent. Both women and men were able to articulate similar subtle behavioural cues that they use to indicate their willingness to participate in sex. Consent was most often defined in relation to legal discourse and the "no means no" discourse of rape prevention. Consequently, I advocate for a move away

from the framework of consent when educating people about sexual violence, and a move towards recognizing the value of their existing knowledge of the normative ways that people accept and refuse sexual activity.

Future research should examine perceptions and constructions of heterosexual sex among different groups of people. Older adults may have different perspectives on casual sex and the communication of consent. They may have a different understanding of their sexual selves and the relations with other people. Similarly, adults in long-term relationships may also have different perspectives on issues related to consent and may pay attention to different types of consent and willingness cues. The current study is also limited to predominantly White, middle class, young Canadians; future research should also be conducted with more diverse populations of adults. Finally, research on gay and lesbian relationships is also important to broaden our understandings of consent and willingness to participate in sexual relations of different types.

REFERENCES

Alexander, L. (1996). The moral magic of consent (II). *Legal Theory, 2,* 165-174.

Alksnis, C. A., Desmarais, S., Senn, C., & Hunter, N. (2000). Methodologic concerns regarding estimates of physical violence in sexual coercion: Overstatement of understatement? *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 29,* 323-334.

Allen, L. (2003). Power talk: Young people negotiating (hetero)sex. *Women's Studies International Forum, 26,* 235-244.

Antioch College (2006). *The Antioch College Sexual Offense Prevention Policy.* Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch College. Retrieved March 30, 2006 from www.antioch-college.edu/Campus/sopp/SOPP2006%20.pdf.

Apostolopoulus, Y., Sonmez, S., & Yu, C. H. (2002). HIV-risk behaviours of American spring break vacationers: A case of situational disinhibition? *International Journal of STD & AIDS, 13,* 733-743.

Archard, D. (1998). *Sexual Consent.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Bailey, C. A. (1996). *A Guide to Field Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Baumeister, R. F., Catanese, K. R., & Vohs, K. D. (2001). Is there a gender difference in strength of sex drive? Theoretical views, conceptual distinctions, and a review of relevant evidence. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 5,* 242-273.

Beck, J. G., Bozman, A. W., Qualtrough, T. (1991). The experiences of sexual desire: Psychological correlates in a college sample. *The Journal of Sex Research, 28,* 443-456.

Beres, M. A., Herold, E., & Maitland, S. B. (2004). Sexual consent behaviors in same-sex relationships. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 33,* 475-486.

Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J-C., Passeron, J-C. (1991). *The craft of sociology: Epistemological preliminaries.* Berlin: de Gruyter.

Breitenbecher, K. H., & Gidycz, C. (1998). An empirical evaluation of a program designed to reduce the risk of multiple sexual victimization. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 13,* 472-488.

Breitenbecher, K. H., & Scarce, M. (1999). A longitudinal evaluation of the effectiveness of a sexual assault education program. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 14,* 459-478.

Brittain, M. (2006, May). *'How to rape your date'—Not! Risking irony to intervene in the date rape script.* Paper presented at Fear, Space, and the Subject of Violence, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Burrows, M., & Olsen, L. (1998). A holist peer education program to reduce STD infection among transient young adults in a resort community. *Canandian Journal of Human Sexuality, 7, 365-370.*

Burton, N. (1998). Resistance to prevention: Reconsidering feminist antiviolence rhetoric. In S. G. French, W. Teays, & L. M. Purdy (Eds.) *Violence Against Women: Philosophical Perspectives.* Itaca: Cornell University Press. (pp. 182-200.

Byers, E. S. (1996). How well does the traditional sexual script explain sexual coercion? Review of a program of research. *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality, 8,* 7-25.

Byers, E.S., & Heinlen, L. (1989). Predicting initiations and refusals of sexual activities in married and cohabitating heterosexual couples. *Journal of Sex Research, 26*, 210-231.

Canadian Federation of Students (2006). No means no campaign. Retrieved April 13, 2006 from http://www.cfd-fcee.ca/nomeansno/home.html.

Cocoran, C. (1992). From victim control to social change: A feminist perspective on campus rape prevention programs. In J. C. Chrisler & D. Howard (Eds.) *New Directions in Feminist Psychology: Practice, Theory and Research.* New York: Springer.

Carmody, M. (2005). Ethical erotics: Reconceptualizing anti-rape education. *Sexulalities, 8,* 465-480.

Carmody, M. (2003). Sexual ethics and violence prevention. *Social & Legal*

Gallagher, S. M. (1997). *Health and Managing Social Risk: Young Summer Workers' Perceptions.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Carmody, M., & Carrington, K. (2000). Preventing sexual violence? *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 33,* 341-361.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* (pp. 509-534).

Charmaz, K. (2003). Grounded theory. In J. A. Smith (Ed.) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* London: Sage.

Clarke, J. (1998, September 11). Date rape ads pulled from frosh kits. *Varsity News,* Retrieved on May 12, 2006 from http://www.varsity.utoronto.ca/archives/119/sept08/news/date.html.

Cowling, M. (2005). Rape, communicative sexuality and sex education. In M. Cowling and P. Reynolds (Eds.) p. 17-28. *Making Sense of Sexual Consent.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Crawford, J., Kippax, S., & Waldby, C. (1994). Women's sex talk and men's sex talk: Different worlds. *Feminism & Psychology, 4,* 571-587.

Deming, M. B., & Eppy, A. (1981). The sociology of rape. *Sociology and Social Research, 65,* 357-380.

Dripps, D., (1992). Beyond rape: An essay on the difference between the presence of force and the absence of consent. *Columbia Law Review, 92,* 1780-1809.

Dripps, D. (1996). For a negative, normative model of consent, with a comment on preference-skepticism. *Legal Theory, 2,* 113-120.

Dworkin, S. L., & O'Sullivan, L. (2005). Acutal versus desired initiation patterns among a sample of college men: Tapping disjunctures within traditional male sexual scripts. *Journal of Sex Research, 42,* 150-158.

Eiser, J. R., & Ford, N. (1995). Sexual relationship on holiday: A case of situational disinhibition? *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 12,* 323-339.

Erhlich, S. (1998). The discursive reconstruction of sexual consent. *Discourse & Society, 9,* 149-171/.

Fein, E., & Schneider, S. (1988). *The Rules: Time Tested Secrets for Capturing the heart of Mr. Right.* New York: Warner Books.

Fenow, M. M., Richardson, L., & Wemmerus, V. A. (1992). Feminist rape education: Does it work? *Gender & Society, 6,* 108-121.

Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, schooling, and adolescent females: The missing discourse of desire. *Harvard Educational Review, 58,* 29-53.

Frith, H., & Kitzinger, C. (1997). Talk about sexual miscommunication. *Women's Studies International Forum, 20,* 517-528.

Gagnon, J. H. (1990). The explicit and implicit use of the scripting perspective in sex research. *Annual Review of Sex Research, 1,* 1-43.

Gallagher, S. M. (1997). *Health and Managing Social Risk: Young Summer Workers' Perceptions.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Gavey, N. (1997). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis. In M. N. Gergen & S. N. Davis (Eds) *Toward a New Psychology of Gender: A Reader.* New York: Routledge, pp. 49-64.

Gavey, N. (2005). *Just Sex? The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Gilbert, B. J., Heesacker, M., & Gannon, L. J. (1991). Changing the sexual aggression-supportive attitudes of men: A psychoeducational intervention. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 38,* 197-203.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research,* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Gotell, L. (submitted). The Discursive Disappearance of Sexualized Violence: Feminist Law Reform, Judicial Resistance and Neo-liberal Sexual Citizenship. In D. E. Chunn, S. B. Boyd, & H. Lessard (Eds.) *Feminism, Law and Social Change: (Re)Action and Resistance.* Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press. Draft cited with permission.

Hall, D. S. (1998). Consent for Sexual Behavior in a College Student Population . *Electronic Journal of Human Sexuality,* .,Retreived on April 15, 2006 from http://www.ejhs.org/volume1/consent1.htm.

Hannon, R., Hall, D. S., Kuntz, T., Van Laar, S., & Williams, J. (1995). Dating characteristics leading to unwanted vs. wanted sexual behavior. *Sex Roles, 33,* 767-783.

Hendersonville Police Department (2006). *Date rape prevention tips.* Retrieved on May 13, 2006 from http://www.hendersonville-pd.org/PreventionTips/DateRape.html.

Hennick, M., Cooper, P., & Diamond, I. (2000). Seasonal work and sexual behaviour. *The Journal of Sex Research, 37,* 175-183.

Hickman, S. E., & Muehlenhard, C. L. (1999). By the semi-mystical appearance of a condom": How young women and men communicate sexual consent in heterosexual situations. *The Journal of Sex Research, 36,* 258-272.

Hollway, W. (1984a). Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Urwin, C. Venn and V. Walkerdine (eds.) pp. 227-263. *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity.* New York: Routledge.

Hollway, W. (1984b). Women's power in heterosexual sex. *Women's Studies International Forum, 7,* 63-68.

Hollway, W. (1996). Recognition and heterosexual desire. In D. Richardson (Ed.) *Theorising Heterosexulaity.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Hollway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method.* London: Sage.

House of Commons Bill C-49. (1992). *An act to amend the criminal code (sexual assault).* 34th Parliament, 3rd session. Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

Humphreys, T. P. (2005). Understanding sexual consent: An empirical investigation of the normative script for young heterosexual adults. In M. Cowling and P. Reynolds (Eds.) *Making Sense of Sexual Consent.* Aldershot: Ashgate (pp. 207-225).

Humphreys, T. P., & Herold, E. (2003). Should universities and colleges mandoate sexual behavior? Student perceptions of Antioch College's consent policy. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 15,* 35-51.

Hurd, H. M. (1996). The moral magic of consent. *Legal Theory, 2,* 121-146.

Impett, E. A., & Peplau, L. A. (2002). Why some women consent to unwanted sex with a dating partner: Insights from attachment theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26,* 360-370.

Jackson, M. (1984). Sex research and the construction of sexuality: A tool of male supremacy? *Women's Studies International Forum, 7,* 43-51.

Jasper National Park (2006) Introduction and framework. Retrieved March 29, 2006, from http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/ab/jasper/plan/ch1.pdf.

Jasper National Park: Major Highlights (2006). Retrieved March 29, 2006, from http://www.canadianrockies.net/maps/jnp.htm.

Jeffreys, S. (1990). *Anticlimax: A Feminist Perspective on the Sexual Revolution.* New York: New York University Press.

Johnson, H., & Sacco, V. F. (1995). Researching violence against women: Statistics Canada's national survey. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 37,* 281-304.

Jones, H. (2002-2003). Rape, consent and communication: Re-setting the boundaries? *Contemporary Issues in Law, 6,* 23-36.

Kazan, P. (1998). Sexual Assault and the Problem of Consent. In Stanley G. French, Wanda Teays, and Laura M. Purdy (Eds.) *Violence Against Women.* Itaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 27-42.

Kitzinger, C., & Frith, H. (1999). Just say no? The use of conversation analysis in developing a feminist perspective on sexual refusal. *Discourse & Society, 10,* 293-316.

Kitzinger, C., & Wilkinson, S. (1994). Virgins and queers: Rehabilitating heterosexuality? *Gender & Society, 8,* 444-462.

Koss, M. P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal, and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9,* 193-212.

Koss, M. P. (1993). Detecting the scope of rape: A review of prevalence research methods. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 8,* 198-222.

Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55,* 162-170.

Koss, M. P., & Oros, C. J. (1982). The sexual experiences survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 50,* 455-457.

Laner, M. R., & Ventrone, N. A. (1998). Egalitarian daters/ Traditionalist Dates. *Journal of Family Issues, 21,* 488-500.

Laumann, E. O., Gagnon, J. H., Michael, R. T., & Michaels, S. (1994). *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States.* Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago Press.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis (3rd Ed).* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Lonsway, K. A. (1996). Preventing acquaintance rape through education. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 20,* 229-265.

Lypchuk, D. (Sept. 24, 1998). By the way, it's a crime. *Eye Weekly, 7,* Retrieved May 12, 2006 from http://www.eye.net/eye/issue/issue_09.24.98/plus/necro.html.

MacKinnon, C. A. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

McCormick, N.B. (1987). Sexual scripts: social and therapeutic implications. *Sexual and Marital Therapy, 2,* 3-27.

Malm, H. M. (1996). The ontological status of consent and its implications for the law on rape." *Legal Theory,* 2, 147-164.

Marcus, S. (1992). Fighting bodies, fighting words: A theory and politics of rape prevention. In J. Butler & J. W. Scott (Eds.) *Feminists Theorize the Political.* New York: Routledge. (pp. 385-403).

Maticka-Tyndale, E., & Herold, E. S. (1997). The scripting of sexual behavior: Canadian university students on spring break in Florida. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 6,* 317-328.

McGregor, J. (1996). Why When She Says No She Doesn't Mean Maybe and Doesn't Mean Yes: A Critical Reconstruction of Consent, Sex, and the Law. *Legal Theory,* 2, 175-208.

Montagna, S. (2000). Men-only spaces as effective sites for education and transformation in the battle to end sexual violence. In J. Gold, & S. Villari (Eds.) *Just Sex: Students Rewrite the Rules on Sex, Violence, Activism, and Equality.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc. (pp. 181-188).

Morokoff, P. J. (2000). A cultural context for sexual assertiveness in women. In C. B. Travis and J. W. White (Eds.) pp. 299-319. *Sexuality, Society and Feminism,* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Muehlenhard, C. L. (1996). The complexities of sexual consent. *SIECUS Report, 24,* 2, 4-7.

Muehlenhard, C. L., & Cook, S. W. (1988). Men's self-reports of unwanted sexual activity. *The Journal of Sex Research, 24,* 58-72.

Muehlenhard, C. L., & Peterson, Z. D. (2005). Wanting and not wanting sex: The missing discourse of ambivalence. *Feminism & Psychology, 15,* 15-10.

My Laurier (2005). *Sexual assault prevention.* Retrieved on May 13, 2006 from http://www.mylaurier.ca/development/videoWorkshop/sexualAssault.htm.

'No' means no (March, 2006) Retrieved April 13, 2006 from http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/about-us/news/consent-campaign

No means no (1988). Retrieved April 13, 2006 from http://imdb.com/title/tt0261110/

O'Byrne, R., Rapley, M., & Hansen, S. (2006). 'You couldn't say "no", could you?': Young men's understandings of sexual refusal. *Feminism & Psychology, 16,* 133-154.

Ontario Women's Justice Network (2000). *Defining consent: What does R vs. Ewanchuk mean for us?* Retrieved April 13, 2006 from http://www.owjn.org/issues/assault/consent.htm

Ostler, T. A. (2003). *Verbal and Nonverbal Dating Behaviors and Sexual Consent: Implications for Miscommunication between Men and Women.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.

O'Sullivan, L., & Allgeier, E. R. (1998). Feigning sexual desire: Consenting to unwanted sexual activity in heterosexual dating relationships. *The Journal of Sex Research, 35,* 234-243.

O'Sullivan, L., & Byers, E. S. (1992). College students' incorporation of initiator and restrictor roles in sexual dating interactions. *Journal of Sex Research, 29,* 435-446.

Pacifici, C., Stoolmiller, M., & Nelson, C. (2001). Evaluating a prevention program for teenagers on sexual coercion: A differential effectiveness approach. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 69,* 552-559.

Panichas, G. E. (2001). Rape, Autonomy, and Consent. *Law & Society Review, 35,* 231-269.

Paul, E. L. (2006). Beer goggles, catching feelings, and the walk of shame: The myths and realities of the hookup experience. In D. S. Kirkpatrick, S. Duck, & M. K. Foley (Eds.) *Relating Difficulty.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Association.

Perper, T., & Weis, D. L. (1987). Proceptive and rejective strategies of U.S. and Canadian college women. *The Journal of Sex Research, 23,* 455-480.

Pierce, J. L. (1995). *Gender Trials: Emotional Lives in Contemporary Law Firms.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pineau, L. (1989). Date rape: A feminist analysis. *Law and Philosophy, 8,* 217-243.

Pineau, L. (1996). A response to my critics. In L. Francis (Ed.) *Date Rape: Feminism, Philosophy and the Law.* University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press.

Radicalesbians (1970). *The Woman Identified Woman.* Retrieved May 13, 2006 from http://carnap.umd.edu/queer/radicalesbian.htm.

Regan, P. C., & Dreyer, C. S. (1999). Lust? Love? Status? Young adults' motives for engaging in casual sex. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 11,* 1-24.

Remick, L. A. (1992/93). Read her lips: An argument for a verbal consent standard of rape. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 141,* 1103-1151.

Schulhofer, S. J. (1998). *Unwanted Sex: The Culture of Intimidation and the Failure of the Law.* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press

Sherwin, E. (1996). Infelicitous sex. *Legal Theory, 2,* 209-231.

Shorter, E. (1977). On writing the history of rape. *Signs, 3,* 471-482.

Spitzberg, B. H. (1999). An analysis of empirical estimates of sexual aggression victimization and perpetration. *Violence & Victims, 14,* 241-260.

Sprecher, S., Hatfield, E., Cortese, A., Potapova, E., & Levitskaya, A. (1994). Token resistance to sexual intercourse and consent to unwanted sexual intercourse: College students' dating experiences in three countries. *The Journal of Sex Reseach, 31,* 125-132.

Student Affairs (2006, January). *Date rape prevention.* Retrieved on May 13, 2006, from http://ub-counseling.buffalo.edu/rapeprevent.shtml.

The Scottish Parliament (2001, April 23). *The Legal Definition of Rape.* Retrieved May 13, 2006 from http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/business/research/pdf_res_notes/rn01-46.pdf.

Tiefer, L. (2004). *Sex is not a Natural Act and Other Essays.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Tolman, D. L. (2002). *Dilemmas of Desire: Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality.* Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press.

Walker, S. J. (1997). When "no" becomes "yes": Why girls and women consent to unwanted sex. *Applied and Preventative Psychology, 6,* 157-166.

Warshaw, R. (1988). *I Never Called it Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Weaver, S. J., & Herold, E. S. (2000). Casual sex and women: Measurement and motivational issues. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 12,* 23-41.

Wertheimer, A. (1996). Consent and Sexual Relations. *Legal Theory, 2, 89-112.*

Wertheimer, A. (2003). *Consent to Sexual Relations.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Weitz, A. J. (2002). *Communicative and Perceptual Factors Contributing to Date Rape: Interviews with Perpetrators.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

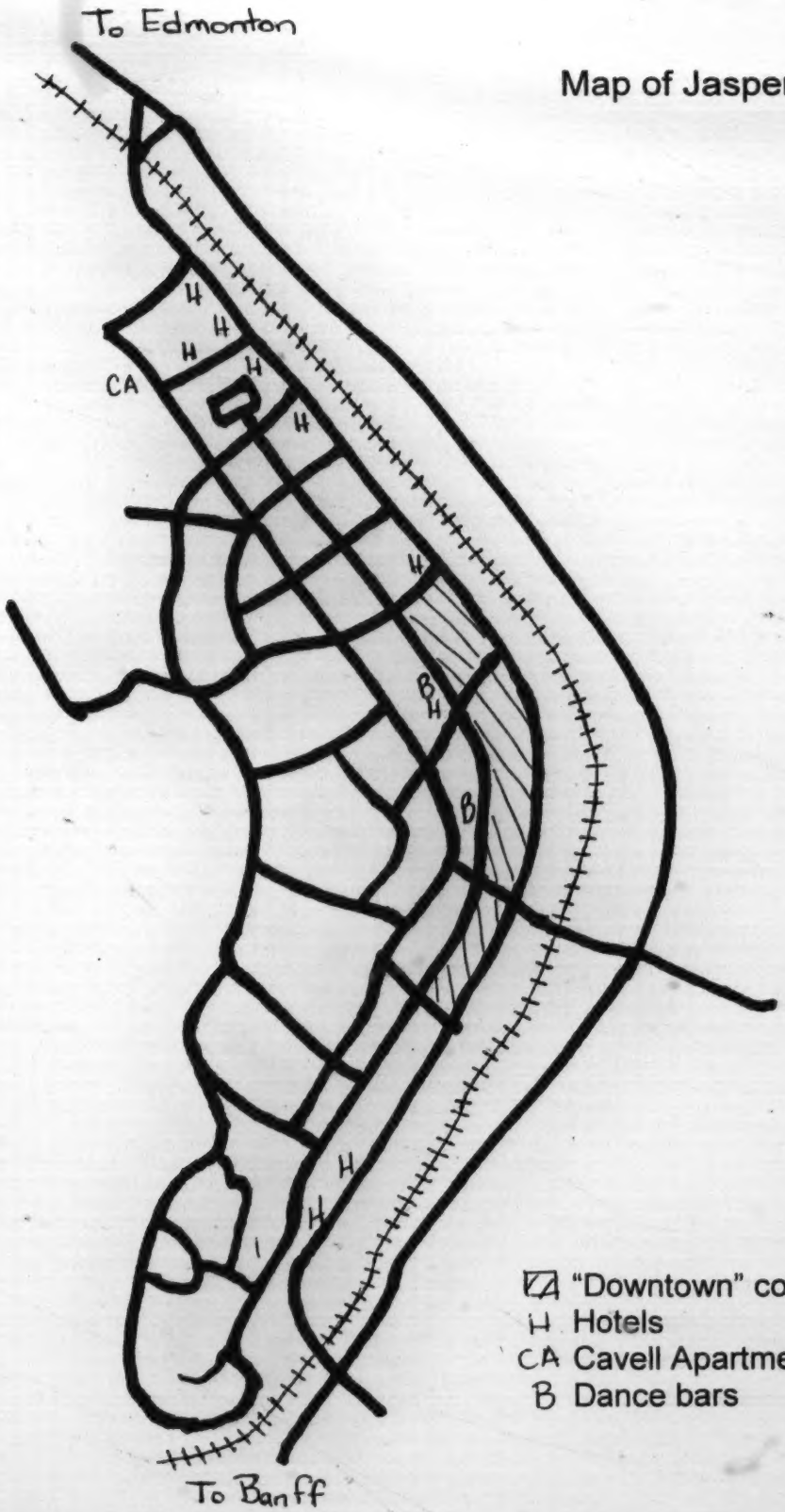
West, R. (2002). The harms of consensual sex. In A. Soble (Ed.) *The Philosophy of Sex: Contemporary Readings.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, pp. 317-322.

West, R. (1996). A comment on consent, sex, and rape. *Legal Theory, 2,* 233-251.

Willig, C. (2003). Discourse analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methdods.* London: Sage.

APPENDIX A

Map of Jasper


To Edmonton
Map of Jasper
CA
H
B
"Downtown" core
Hotels
Cavell Apartments
Dance bars
To Banff